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تالیف و تدوین
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تین غیر مطبوعہ مضامین

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سنگِ میل پبلی کیشنز، لاہور

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فہرست

تعارف

سرسید کا رسالہ اسباب بغاوت ہند مسلمانانِ پاکستان و ہند کی جدوجہد آزادی کی تاریخ میں ایک سنگ میل کی حیثیت رکھتا ہے اس لئے یہ مناسب سمجھا گیا کہ برصغیر کی برطانوی تسلط سے آزادی کی پچاسویں سالگرہ کے موقعہ پر حال ہی میں دریافت کئے گئے اسباب بغاوت ہند پر سرسید کے تین غیر مطبوعہ مضامین کو پہلی مرتبہ قارئین کی خدمت میں پیش کیا جائے۔

ان میں سب سے پہلے سرسید کا ایک انگریزی مضمون An Essay on the Causes of the Indian Revolt شامل ہے جو انھوں نے ملکہ وکٹوریہ کو نومبر ۱۸۵۹ء کو جاری کردہ اشتہار کے فوراً بعد سیکرٹری آف سٹیٹ فار انڈیا کو بھیجا تھا اس کے شروع میں سرسید نے اس مضمون کے لکھنے کی وجوہات کا ذکر کرتے ہوئے لکھا ہے کہ اس کا مقصد بغاوت کے بنیادی اسباب پر روشنی ڈالنا اور اپنے بیان کردہ موٴقف کی تائید میں دلائل پیش کرنا ہے۔ اس کے ساتھ ساتھ سرسید نے حکومت ہند کے ان تمام اقدامات کو سراہا ہے جو اس نے اس بغاوت کی تمام وجوہات کو پوری طرح دور کرنے کے لئے اٹھائے تھے۔

سرسید نے اس مضمون کو سیکرٹری آف سٹیٹ کو بھیجنے کی وجوہات کا ذکر کرتے ہوئے لکھا ہے کہ یہ بات صحیح ہے کہ اسباب بغاوتِ ہند کا تجزیہ کئی اہل علم اور تجزیہ کار لوگوں نے کیا ہے لیکن چونکہ اس مضمون پر ابھی تک کسی ہندوستانی نے قلم نہیں اٹھایا۔ اس لئے ہو سکتا ہے

کہ ان کا پیش کردہ یہ مضمون اہل ہند کے خیالات کو سمجھنے میں مدد دے سکے۔ لیکن مذکورہ بالا سطور لکھتے وقت سرسید کو اس بات کا علم نہ تھا کہ ان کے پیش کردہ اس مضمون سے پہلے حکومت ہند کئی ایک ہندو افسروں اور منشیوں سے اس موضوع پر لکھنے کی درخواست کرچکی تھی۔

ان میں سے جن لوگوں کے تحریری بیانات اب انڈیا آفس لائبریری میں موجود ہیں ان میں منشی جیون لعل، منشی کیدار ناتھ اور منشی موہن لعل کے نام قابل ذکر ہیں ان کے علاوہ ایک اور تفصیلی مضمون

The thoughts of a native of Northern India on the Rebellion its causes and remedies

ہے جو لندن ۱۸۵۸ میں شائع ہوا تھا اس پر مصنف کا نام درج نہیں لیکن اندراجات سے صاف ظاہر کہ یہ کسی ہندو اہل قلم اور دانشور کی تحریر ہے ایک دوسرا تفصیلی مضمون Causes and progress of the Munity جو منشی موہن لعل نے ۱۱ نومبر ۱۸۵۷ء کو برگیڈیئر چیمبرلین کو پیش کیا تھا۔

ان سب کا بنیادی مقصد ہندوستان کی ہندو رعیت کو انگریزی حکومت کا وفادار ثابت کرنا ان کو بغاوت کے الزام سے بری الذمہ قرار دینا اور انگریزی حکومت کی ہندو راجاؤں اور حکمرانوں کے ساتھ کی گئی ناانصافیوں کی یاد دھانی کراتا تھا۔

مثلاً "ایک انگریز افسر نے جب ایک پڑھے لکھے ہندو سے بغاوت کے اسباب کے متعلق سوال کیا تو اس کا جواب تھا: نانا صاحب کے ساتھ بے حد غیر منصفانہ سلوک، کنور سنگھ کے ساتھ ناانصافی کا برتاؤ، جھانسی کی رانی کو دی گئیں اذیتیں، اودھ کی سلطنت پر قبضہ، کروی کے راؤ صاحب کے ساتھ فراڈ اور اس قسم کی گئی دوسری زیادتیاں جو صوبہ جات متحدہ کی حکومت نے اس علاقہ کے بے شمار زمینداروں کے ساتھ کیں۔

(Kaye and Malleson, History of the Indian Mutiny, London 1889 p.292.)

مسلمانوں میں سے البتہ صرف ایک سرسید ہی تھے۔ جنہوں نے اس موضوع پر مسلمانوں کے نقطۂ نظر کی ترجمانی کے ساتھ ساتھ ایک ہندوستانی کی حیثیت سے اپنا موقف پیش کیا ہے۔

اس کتاب میں دوسرا مضمون "اسباب بغاوتِ ہند" ہے اس میں اس رسالہ کے عام طور پر دستیاب ایڈیشن میں دیئے گئے اردو متن کے علاوہ سرسید کا انگریزی پیش لفظ، کتاب کے اندراجات کی تفصیلی فہرست، ہر پیراگراف کا انگریزی خلاصہ اور پادری اڈمنڈ کے اس خط کا انگریزی متن جو اس نے عیسائیت کی ترغیب کے لئے ہندوستان کے پڑھے لکھے عوام کو مخاطب کر کے لکھا تھا شامل ہیں۔

سرسید نے اس رسالہ کا نام "اسباب سرکشی ہندوستان کا جواب مضمون" اور انگریزی میں An Essay on the Causes of the Indian Revolt دیا ہے حالی نے جب اسے حیاتِ جاوید میں ضمیمہ کے طور پر شامل کیا تو اس کا نام انگریزی عنوان کی مناسبت سے اسباب بغاوتِ ہند کر دیا اور اس کے بعد میں جتنے ایڈیشن شائع ہوئے وہ اسی عنوان سے ہوئے۔

حالی نے اس رسالے کا تعارف کراتے ہوئے لکھا ہے:

یہ رسالہ صرف ایک دفعہ سرسید نے ۱۸۵۸ء میں چھپوایا اور چند نسخوں کے سوا اس کی تمام جلدیں انگلستان میں پارلیمنٹ کے ممبروں کے پاس بھیج دی تھیں اس لئے ہندوستان میں اس کی اشاعت نہیں ہوئی چونکہ اس رسالہ کا لکھنا جیسا کہ سرسید کی لائف میں مفصل بیان کیا گیا ان کی سرکاری، ملکی اور قومی خدمات میں سے ایک عمدہ ترین خدمت تھی اس نظر سے مناسب معلوم ہوا کہ یہ رسالہ تمام و کمال سرسید کا لائف کے آخر میں بطور ضمیمہ کے چھاپ دیا جائے۔

حالی نے ایک اور جگہ اس کے لکھے جانے اور چھپنے کا تفصیلی طور پر ذکر کیا ہے البتہ یہاں پر اس کے چھپنے کی تاریخ ۱۸۵۹ء دی ہے۔

یہ رسالہ غالباً انہوں نے مراد آباد میں پہنچتے ہی لکھنا شروع کر دیا تھا۔ اس کے ختم

چھونے کے بعد بغیر اس کے کہ اس کا انگریزی ترجمہ کرائیں۔ اردو ہی میں اس کو مطبع مفصلیٹ گزٹ آگرہ میں چھپنے کو بھیج دیا اور ۱۸۵۹ء میں اس کی پانچ سو جلدیں چھپ کر ان کے پاس پہنچ گئیں۔ جب سرسید نے ان کو پارلیمنٹ اور گورنمنٹ انڈیا میں بھیجنے کا ارادہ کیا تو ان کے دوست مانع آئے اور ماسٹر رام چندر کے چھوٹے بھائی رائے شنکر داس جو اس وقت مراد آباد میں مصنف اور سرسید کے نہایت دوست تھے' انہوں نے کہا کہ ان تمام کتابوں کو جلا دو اور ہرگز اپنی جان کو معرض خطر میں نہ ڈالو۔ سرسید نے کہا "میں ان باتوں کو گورنمنٹ پر ظاہر کرنا ملک اور قوم اور خود گورنمنٹ کی خیر خواہی سمجھتا ہوں' پس اگر ایک ایسے کام پر جو سلطنت اور رعایا دونوں کے لئے مفید ہو مجھ کو کچھ گزند بھی پہنچ جائے تو گوارا ہے" رائے شنکر داس نے جب سرسید کی آمادگی بدرجہ غایت دیکھی اور ان کے سمجھانے کا کوئی اثر نہ ہوا تو وہ آبدیدہ ہو کر خاموش ہو رہے۔ سرسید نے اول دو رکعتیں بطور نفل کے ادا کیں اور دعا مانگی اور اس وقت کچھ کم پانچ سو جلدوں کا ایک پارسل ولایت کو روانہ کیا اور ایک جلد گورنمنٹ انڈیا میں بھیج دی اور کچھ جلدیں اپنے پاس رکھ لیں۔

گورنمنٹ انڈیا میں جب یہ کتاب پہنچی اور انگریزی میں ترجمہ ہو کر کونسل میں پیش ہوئی تو لارڈ کیننگ گورنر جنرل اور سربارٹر فریر نے جو کونسل میں ممبر تھے ان کے مضمون کو محض خیر خواہی پر محمول کیا۔ مگر مسٹر سیسل بیڈن نے جو اس وقت فارن سیکرٹری تھے اس کے خلاف بہت بڑی اسپیچ دی اور یہ رائے ظاہر کی کہ "اس شخص نے نہایت باغیانہ مضمون لکھا ہے اور اس سے حسب ضابطہ باز پرس ہونی چاہئے اور جواب لینا چاہئے اور اگر کوئی معقول جواب نہ دے سکے تو سخت سزا دینی چاہئے۔" لیکن چونکہ اور کوئی ممبران کا ہم رائے نہ تھا اس لئے ان کی سپیچ سے کوئی مضر نتیجہ پیدا نہیں ہوا۔

مگر ۱۸۵۹ء میں جب کہ لارڈ کیننگ نے فرخ اباد میں دربار کیا اور سرسید بھی اس دربار میں بلائے گئے تو وہاں ایک موقع پر مسٹر سیسل بیڈن فارن سیکرٹری گورنمنٹ انڈیا سے مڈھ بھیڑ ہوگئی جب ان کو معلوم ہوا کہ سید احمد خان وہی شخص ہے جس نے اسباب بغاوت پر وہ مضمون

لکھا ہے تو سرسید سے دوسرے روز علیحدہ مل کر اپنی نہایت رنجش ظاہر کی اور بہت دیر تک تلخ گفتگو ہوتی رہی۔ انہوں نے کہا کہ "اگر تم گورنمنٹ کی خیرخواہی کے لئے مضمون لکھتے تو ہرگز اس کو چھپوا کر ملک میں شائع نہ کرتے بلکہ صرف گورنمنٹ پر اپنے یا رعایا کے خیالات ظاہر کرتے" سرسید نے کہا "میں نے اس کتاب کی کل پانچ سو جلدیں چھپوائی تھیں جن میں سے چند جلدیں میرے پاس موجود ہیں اور ایک گورنمنٹ میں بھیجیں ہے اور کچھ کم پانچ سو جلدیں ولایت روانہ کی ہیں جن کی رسید میرے پاس موجود ہے۔ میں جانتا تھا کہ آج کل بسبب غیظ و غضب کے حاکموں کی رائے صائب نہیں رہی اور اس لئے وہ سیدھی باتوں کو بھی الٹی سمجھتے ہیں اس لئے جس طرح میں نے ان کو ہندوستان میں شائع نہیں کیا اسی طرح انگریزوں کو بھی نہیں دکھایا صرف ایک کتاب گورنمنٹ میں بھیجی ہے اگر اس کے سوا ایک جلد بھی کہیں ہندوستان میں مل جائے تو میں فی جلد ایک ہزار روپیہ دوں گا۔ مسٹر بیڈن کو اس بات کا یقین نہ آیا اور انہوں نے کئی بار سرسید سے پوچھا کہ کیا فی الواقع اس کا کوئی نسخہ ہندوستان میں شائع نہیں ہوا۔ جب ان کو اطمینان ہوگیا پھر انہوں نے اس کا کچھ ذکر نہیں کیا اور اس کے بعد ہمیشہ سرسید کے دوست اور حامی و مددگار رہے۔

اسباب بغاوت ہند کا انگریزی ترجمہ سر آکلینڈ کالون اور انگریزی میں سرسید کے سوانح نگار جی ایف گراہم نے ۱۸۷۳ء میں شائع کیا تھا۔ اس کی افادیت کے پیش نظر اس ترجمہ کو بھی اس کتاب میں شامل کر دیا گیا ہے۔

اس کتاب میں سرسید کا اس موضوع پر انگریزی زبان میں جو تیسرا مضمون شامل ہے وہ ایک خط کی صورت میں ہے جو انہوں نے انگلستان میں اپنے قیام کے دوران ۱۳ دسمبر ۱۸۶۹ء کو اپنی قیام گاہ، ۲۱ میکلنبرگ سکائر، لندن سے انڈیا آفس کے پولیٹیکل اور سیکرٹ ڈیپارٹمنٹ کے سیکرٹری سر جان۔کے کو لکھا۔ تھا۔ سرسید اپنے دونوں بیٹوں، یعنی سید محمود اور سید حامد کے ساتھ مئی ۱۸۶۹ء سے اکتوبر ۱۸۷۰ء تک لندن میں رہے اور اس دوران آپ کئی مرتبہ انڈیا آفس تشریف لائے جہاں آپ کی ملاقات جان۔کے سے ہوئی۔

سرسید اپنے ایک خط میں جو ولایت سے مولوی سید مہدی علی خان کو بھیجا تھا اس کا ذکر کرتے ہوئے لکھا ہے:

میں انڈیا آفس میں صاحب سیکرٹری وزیر ہند کے پاس گیا تھا انہوں نے مجھ کو کونسل کے کاغذات میں میری کتاب اسباب بغاوت مع کمال ترجمہ کے دکھلائی اسے دیکھ کر میرا دل بہت خوش ہوا جو کچھ رائیں اس کی بدولت قرار پائیں ان کا بیان بے فائدہ ہے۔ اہل ہند ناقدر دان، دوست کش اور اپنے خیرخواہ کے دشمن ہیں مگر میں خوش ہوں کہ میرے ہم وطنوں کی بھلائی ہوئی۔

حالی نے اس ملاقات کی تفصیلات کا ذکر کرتے ہوئے سرسید کا مندرجہ ذیل بیان بھی نقل کیا ہے:

"ولایت میں سرجان کے فارن سیکرٹری وزیرہند سے پرائیویٹ ملاقات ہوئی تو ان کی میز پر ایک دفتر کاغذات کا موجود تھا۔ انہوں نے ہنس کر کہا تم جانتے ہو یہ کیا چیز ہے؟ یہ تمہارا رسالہ اسباب بغاوت اصل اور اس کا انگریزی ترجمہ ہے اور اس کے ساتھ وہ تمام مباحثات ہیں جو اس پر پارلیمنٹ میں ہوئے مگر چونکہ وہ تمام مباحثے کانفیڈ-نشل تھے اس لئے وہ نہ چھپے اور نہ ان کا ولایت کے کسی اخبار میں تذکرہ ہوا۔

سرسید نے اپنے مذکورہ بالا بیان میں انڈیا آفس میں اسباب بغاوتِ ہند کے جس انگریزی ترجمے اور اس موضوع پر پارلیمنٹ کے مباحثات کا ذکر کیا ہے وہ اب جان۔کے کے کاغذات میں موجود نہیں۔ البتہ اسی موضوع پر سرسید کا انگریزی زبان میں ہاتھ کا لکھا ہوا ایک خط موجود ہے جس میں انہوں نے جان۔کے اس سوال کہ آیا بغاوت کو ایک فوجی بغاوت کا نام دیا جا سکتا ہے۔ جواب دیا ہے اس خط کا متن اس سے قبل انڈیا آفس لائبریری کے نیوز لیٹر کے علاوہ ایک دو اور جگہ شائع ہوا تھا یہاں پر اسے اس کے پس منظر اور خط کے عکس کے ساتھ پیش کیا جا رہا ہے۔

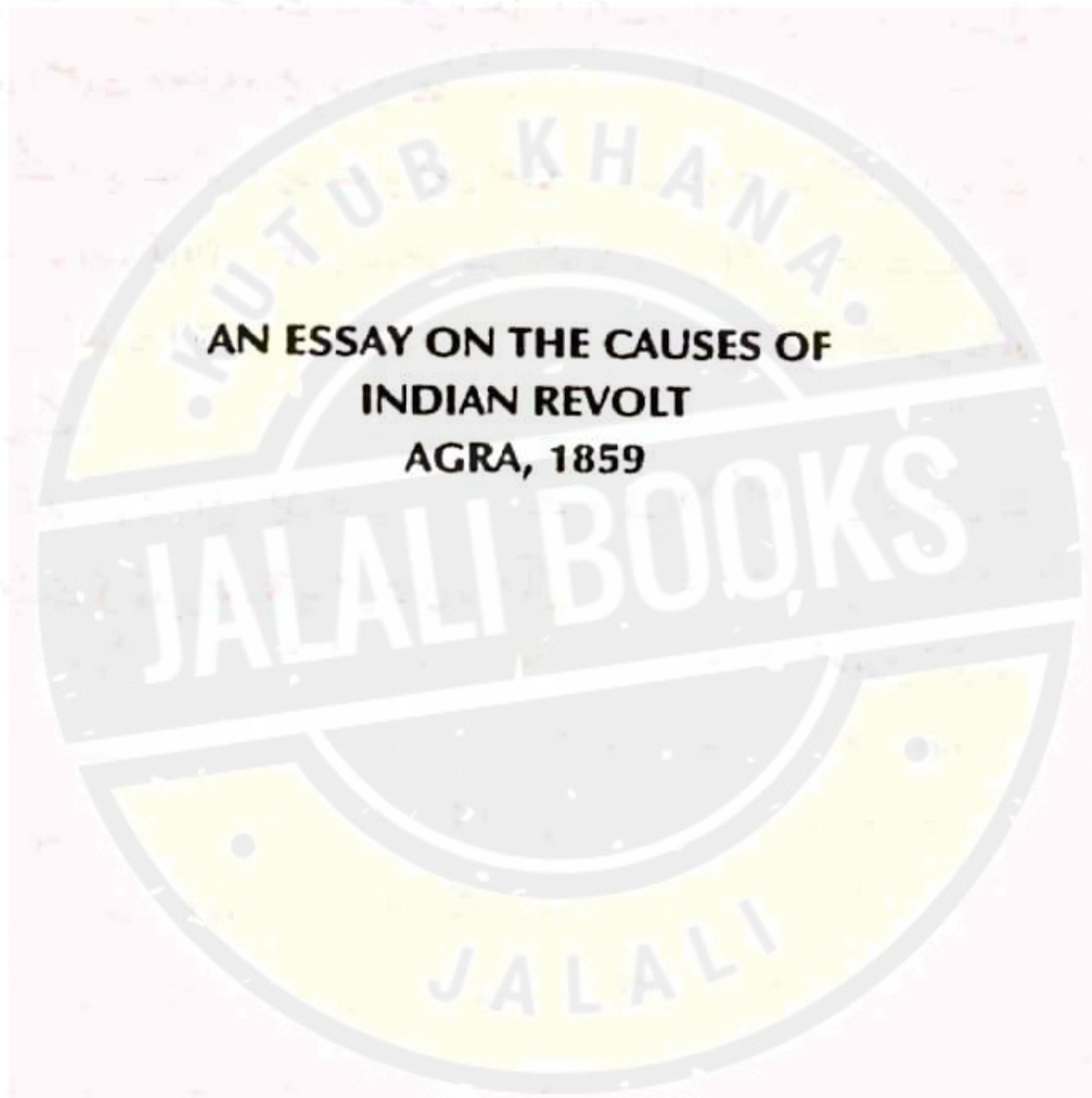
جان۔کے ان دنوں سرکاری طور پر تاریخ بغاوتِ ہند

(London, 1872-1876) (History of the Sepoy War in India. 3 Vols.)
میں لکھنے میں مصروف تھے اور اس سلسلہ میں سرسید کے رسالہ اسباب بغاوتِ ہند
سے استفادہ کرنے کے ساتھ ساتھ بغاوت کے کئی ایک پہلوؤں کو سمجھنے کے لئے سرسید سے
مشورہ کرتے رہتے تھے اس سلسلہ کا ایک اور خط جس میں سرسید نے جان۔کے کے خاندان
مغلیہ میں رسم جانشینی کی تفصیلات کے متعلق استفسار کا جواب دیا تھا ان کی متذکرہ بالا کتاب کی
دوسری جلد (صفحات ۶۸۵-۶۸۴) میں درج ہے۔

مجھے امید ہے کہ سرسید کے یہ تینوں مضامین اسباب بغاوت کے متعلق سرسید کے
نظریات اور جدوجہد آزادی کی ناکامی کے بعد کے پرآشوب دور میں انگریزی حکومت کے ساتھ
مسلمانوں کے تعلقات استوار کرنے میں انہوں نے جو کردار ادا کیا تھا اس کو سمجھنے میں مددگار
ثابت ہوں گے۔

آخر میں میں اپنی رفیقہ حیات مریم اور بیٹے یوسف کا شکرگزار ہوں کہ انہوں نے
انگریزی عبارت کی تدوین اور ٹائپ میں میری مدد فرمائی۔

سلیم الدین قریشی لندن

(جون ۱۹۹۶ء)

AN ESSAY ON THE CAUSES OF
INDIAN REVOLT
AGRA, 1859

RULERS—" Ye are the light of the world.
A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid."—v. 14.

" Neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel—but on a candlestick; and it giveth light unto all that are in the house."—v. 15.

" Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven."—v. 16. St. Mathew, Chap. 5.

اسباب سرکشی هندوستان کا جواب مضمون

تالیف

سید احمد خان صدر الصدور مراد آباد

AN ESSAY
ON THE
CAUSES OF THE INDIAN REVOLT;

BY

SYUD AHMED KHAN,

PRINCIPAL SUDDER AMEEN OF MORADABAD.

AGRA:

PRINTED BY J. A. GIBBONS, MOFUSSILITE PRESS.

1859.

PREFACE

The events of the year 1857 A.D., unparalleled in history, at least in the history of this country, have occupied the attention of many, who either from inclination or from their connection with the management of this country, have set themselves to search for the true causes of the startling occurrences which have transpired, and each one has put forward his views in conformity with the amount of information or capacity of which he was possessed.

The Government, after a careful investigation into all the cirçumstances, which have occurred since the disaffection of the Sepoys was first made apparent at Barrack-poor, has shown by the terms of the Royal Proclamation, that it has ascertained the true state of the case, but at the same time there are many minor matters which in all probability have not come to the notice of Government, and as it is the duty of all to bring forward such information as they may possess, and as natives of this country are probably best acquainted with the causes of the rebellion, I have deemed it incumbent upon me, more especially as I have been honored and rewarded by Government for my poor services during this unhappy time, to record for the information of the authorities in this country and in England, my opinion in reference to this eventful crisis.

Syud Ahmed Khan,
Principal Sudder Ameen,
Moradabad.

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15. The same persons whose seals are said to be affixed to the Futwa, at Delhie protected the lives and honor of the Christians.
16. The Bengal army were not previously in league for an outbreak.
17. Nor was there any league between the army and the Ex-King, though it is not improbable some Sepoy or Non-Commissioned Officer may have been his disciple.
18. The non-admission of a native as a Member into the Legislative Council was the original cause of the outbreak.
19. The importance of such an admission discussed.
20. The inadmission of such a Member proved a hinderance to the development of the good feelings of the India subject towards the Government, and of their good intention towards them; on the contrary, contrary effects were produced.
21. The outbreak of the Rebellion proceeded from the following five causes:

I. Misunderstanding on the part of the Indians.
   1. Apprehensions of interference of Government with the religions and customs of the Indians.
   2. Mentions of the Secundra Orphan system.
   3. Religious discussions being carried to a great height during the present time.
   4. The Covenanted Officers assumed the Missionary functions. Preaching of the Gospel by the Missionaries.
   5. The establishment of Missionary Schools and the Covenanted Officers attending examination at them.
   6. Village Schools.
   7. The introduction of female education.
   8. Alterations in the usual system of education in large Colleges.
   9. The issue of Government Proclamation, on the subject of admitting Government College English students to appointments in preference to other candidates.

10. Introduction of the messing system in the Jails.
11. The circulation of Mr. Edmond's letters from Calcutta.
12. The Interference in religious matters more repugnant to the feelings of the Mahomedans and its causes.

II. The promulgation of objectionable Law and procedures.

1. Act XXI. of 1850.
2. Act XV. of 1856. Giving liberty to females.
3. The promulgation of certain Acts in case wherein the parties are of one religion.
4. The resumption of maafees.
5. The speeches of Lord Munro and the Duke of Wellington on the subject.
6. The public sales of Zemindaree rights.
7. Heavy assessment of lands.
8. The abolition of Talookdaree rights, particularly in the Oude Provinces.
9. The introduction of the stamp paper. The system of Civil administration in the Bengal Provinces superior to that in the Punjab, but requires revision in certain points.

III. Ignorance of Government of the state of the country and their subjects.

1. Local authorities generally unacquainted with the condition of their subjects.
2. Overwhelming poverty of the Indians, particularly of the Mahomedans.
3. Scarcity of employment generally of the Mahomedans, whose profession is commonly service, were particularly impoverished. The same cause induced them to serve the rebels on one anna and one and half anna or 1 seer of flour per diem.
4. The stoppage of Charitable pensions and stipends tending in a great measure to the poverty of the Indians.
5. The investment of capital in Government loans.

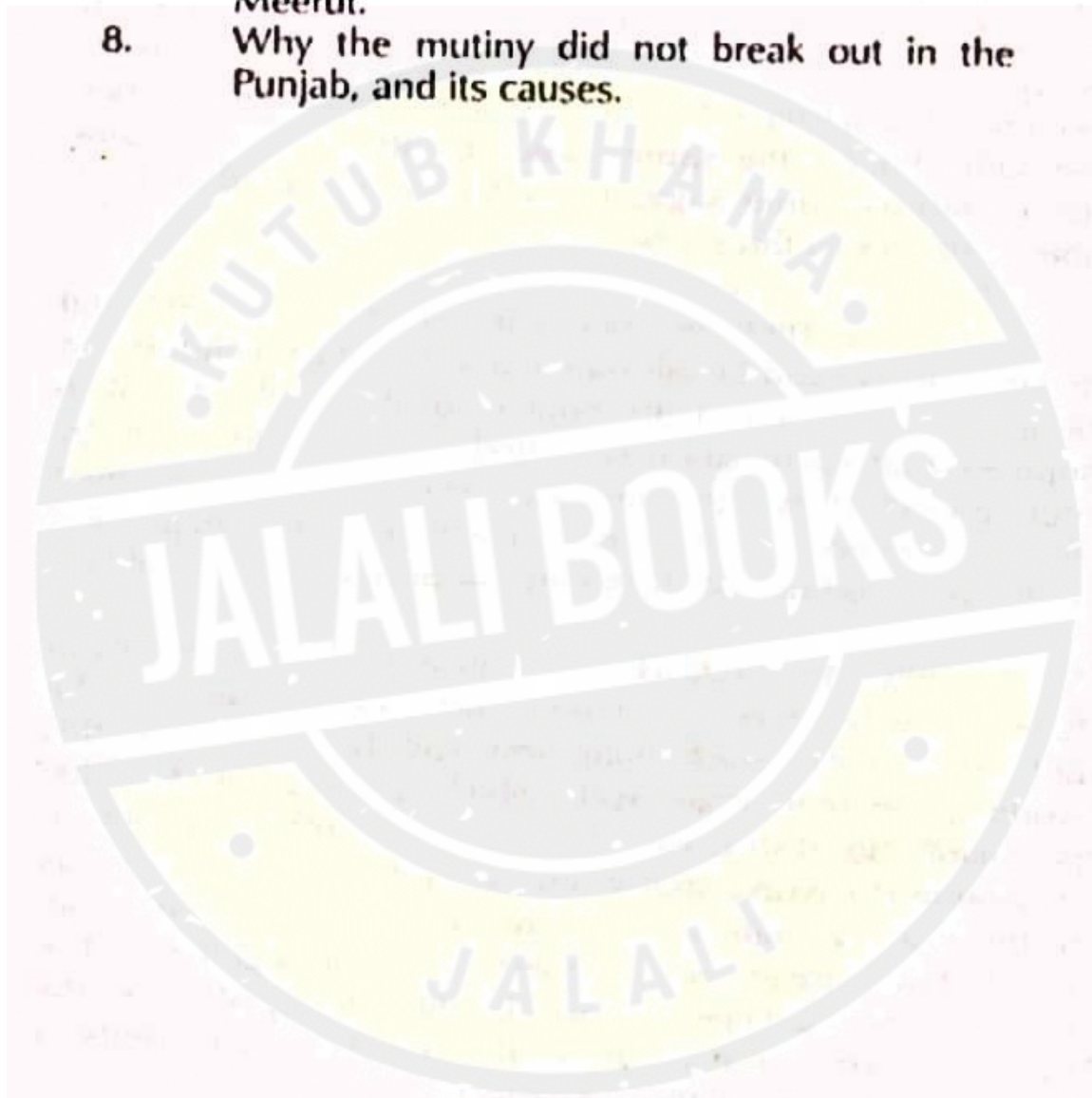
6. Poverty the cause of the subjects rejoicing at the idea of a change of Government and wishing for it.

IV. Neglect in matters which should have received consideration of Government.

1. Want of cordiality towards the Indians. In ancient times as long as this was not observed by the reigning powers, tranquility was not established.
2. Treating the Indians with contempt.
3. The ill temper and uncourtly address of local authorities towards the natives.
4. The ill-treatment more repugnant to the feelings of the Mahomedans, and their causes.
5. Exclusion of natives from promotion to high appointments. Lord Bentinck's system of employing natives in high grades of service an inadequate one.
6. The not holding of Durbars by the Governor General of India, and not conferring on Indians the rank and honors due to merit according to the usage of former Emperors.
7. The observation of these rules by Lord Auckland and Lord Ellenborough, a very proper one.
8. The facts of the rebellion in India appeared more serious to the authorities than they reality were, their causes.
9. The promulgation of H.M.'s Proclamation highly commendable, indeed may be said to have originated under divine inspiration.

V. The insubordinate state of the Indian forces.

1. The paucity of English forces.
2. The employment of Hindoos and Mahomedans in the same Regiment.
3. If these two castes formed distinct Regiments, perhaps the Mahomedans would not have objected to use of the new cartridge.
4. The pride of the Indian forces and its causes.

5. The league of the Indian army against the use of the new cartridges, formed after January 1857.
6. The impropriety of punishing the Non-commissioned officers at Meerut, which touched the vanity of the Indian forces.
7. Want of confidence in the Indian forces towards Government after the occurrences at Meerut.
8. Why the mutiny did not break out in the Punjab, and its causes.

TO THE EDUCATED NATIVES OF INDIA

The time appears to have come when earnest consideration should be given to the subject, whether or not all men should embrace the same system of Religion. Railways, Steam Vessels and the Electric Telegraph, are rapidly uniting all the nations of the earth: the more they are brought together, the more certain does the conclusion become, that all have the same wants, the same anxieties, the same hopes, the same fears, and therefore, the same nature and the same origin. It is also very certain that death universally closes the scene.

Is there, then, no means by which the sorrows and anxieties of life can be alleviated, and by which comfort can be given to *all* men in the hour of death? Is it rational to suppose that each nation is to find out a way for itself, by mere guess? or has the one God, who made all, appointed different methods of obtaining present and future happiness to different portions of His family? — Surely, this cannot be.

Now CHRISTIANITY is a system which professes to have come by direct revelation from God Himself, as the only system by which happiness can be secured in this world, or in that other world which it reveals. It has this peculiarity to distinguish it from every other system of religion in the world, that it appeals to the *reason* as well as to the *heart* of man, and it is the *only* system in the world, which has spread by the mere force of argument. The nations which believe in it are the most thoughtful and the most civilised in the earth, so that it has, at all events, a claim to be heard on it's own behalf.

Having received the greatest blessings from it ourselves, we are anxious that others also should be induced to receive them, and therefore, this solemn and earnest appeal is made to you to examine this important subject for yourself. The arguments in its favour are very numerous; this paper will dwell only upon one of them, but that one will be quite sufficient to establish the point.

A man called Jesus was born in a place called Bethleham, in the land of Judea, about 1859 years ago. He was a man of low birth, and in poor circumstances, but he professed to be a teacher sent by God to point out the only way which would lead unto God. After going about the country for three years preaching, he was put to death by the Roman Government at the solicitation of the Jewish Priests. So far all is admitted universally: the death of Jesus is a *fact*, as the death of Julius Caesar is a fact, and no person thinks of doubting the one fact more than the other. The Jews, the greatest enemies of Jesus and his doctrine, glory in it, and they are the best witnesses we could desire.

His followers say, that he rose again from the dead. This is the *one great fact* upon which the *whole* system of Christianity depends; if it is true, the Gospel is true—for no person could rise from the dead except by the power of God, and God would not raise from the dead any person whose life and doctrine was not pleasing unto Him; if it is false, the Gospel is false.

We would respectfully and earnestly urge you to direct your whole attention to this *one* point. Did Jesus rise from the dead, or did he not? We must bring witnesses of the fact, here they are; Peter, James, John, Matthew, Mathias, Thomas, Jude, Mary Magdalen, Cleophas and 500 others, whose names are not now known. Many of these persons were the chosen friends, who had been constantly with Jesus for three years before his death; they could not therefore have been mistaken as to his person: they came forward within 50 days of his death and declared that he had risen again, in the very place where, and among the very people by whom, he had been crucified; they had nothing to gain by this declaration, but every thing to lose, not improbably their own lives, and yet they persuaded some thousands of persons that what they said was true—so much so that the name of this despised and hated man was now, by those who had rejected Him, worshipped and revered; they continued telling the same fact as long as they lived, not only in Judea, but over all the Roman Empire: many of them showed their sincerity by allowing themselves to be put to torture and death for saying so, when they might have escaped, had they only said it was false: though

ignorant and unlettered men, they persuaded thousands, all over the Empire, to believe them, to forsake their own religion, and to embrace the one they taught, notwithstanding scorn and death: they held out no promises of earthly comfort and honor to induce men to believe them, but rather the contrary: they were not satisfied with a formal adhesion to their views; but they required self-denial and holiness of life, which all men naturally dislike; they said that even the new religion would not save any man; had yet though they thus gained nothing themselves, and told others that they must not expect to gain anything either, they satisfied men that Jesus did rise again! and this so effectually, that from the most obscure corner of the Roman Empire, the doctrine preached by uneducated fishermen, about a poor carpenter's son, spread over the whole Empire even after their death, and overthrew every other system of religion though sanctioned by the consent of ages!

We have likewise the evidence of persons who did not become preachers of the New Doctrine, to prove the fact of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ; the soldiers who where placed as a guard at the grave *saw* it, and told the priests of it, and they found it necessary to invent an absurd story to account for the admitted disappearance of the body!

The only evidence which any person could desire, which we do not possess, is that of the public: it may be said why did He not show Himself publicly to all, especially to those persons who put Him to death? Various reasons may be assigned for this, derived from the nature of the doctrine which He taught; into these it is impossible at present to enter: but it must be observed, that the want of this evidence in no way affects the truth of that which we do possess: if a number of persons who knew Him intimately, *said* Him and *spoke* to Him, and *ate* with Him upon several occasions, it certainly does not tend to shake their evidence to ask, why did not others see Him also? Whenever He appeared, all who were present at that place at that time saw Him, upon one occasion to the number of 500! So that it was not an apparition, but a reality. One person, by name Thomas, said that he would not believe that it was really his old friend, till he had put his hand into the holes caused by

the nails in His hands, and into that caused by the spear in His side: but even he was satisfied!

We earnestly entreat you to consider these *facts*; if there is any flaw in the evidence, point it out; but if not, then admit that it is true, that Jesus Christ did rise from the dead,— and embrace the Gospel.

This resurrection of Jesus Christ is an assurance unto all men, that God hath appointed a day in which He will judge the world in righteousness: you will then stand before Him; you will be called upon to answer for the evil thoughts, the evil words, and the evil actions of which you have been guilty. Are you prepared to do so? There is no man living who is. But all guilt is pardoned in the case of every one who *trusts* in Jesus Christ as His Saviour, for holiness is conferred upon him likewise, so that he will be prepared even for that dreadful day.

We urge you, therefore, as you value your own happiness *for ever*, to examine this great subject, and to ask God himself to enable you, by His Holy Spirit's teaching, to do so aright. Think over it and examine it in private; do so with others also to whom, as well as to yourself, this letter is addressed; confine your attention to *the one* point, whether or not those persons are to be believed who said *they saw* Jesus Christ after He had risen from the dead: if you do so, you will be convinced by all the rules of evidence, that Jesus Christ did rise from the dead, and that *therefore* the Gospel is a true and the only Revelation from God.

Then, be courageous and embrace it publicly: for He said Himself "whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words, in this adulterous and sinful generation, of him also shall the Son of Man be ashamed when He cometh in the Glory of His Father with the Holy Angels." We long to see churches thronged with the natives of this land, in which the glad tidings of the Gospel shall regularly be proclaimed by your own countrymen, and not by strangers only; in which women, as well as men, shall be urged to repent of their sins, and to prepare to meet their God; in which children shall be taught lessons of morality and truth, to guide their conduct in this world, and lessons of holiness and peace to

fit them for the next, and in which death shall be spoken of as an enemy no longer to be feared, for his sting has been taken away by "Our Saviour Jesus Christ who hath abolished death, and brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel." That this will yet be the case we are assured by God himself: we long for the time when it shall be fully realized. Why not in this generation? Would it not be an infinite improvement upon the foolish, degrading and wicked idolatry, which now defiles the land? "We speak as to wise men, judge ye what we say."

*** Any answers that may be sent to this letter, will be received and acknowledged, D.V., if addressed to the care of E. Edmond, Esq., Calcutta, prepaid.

بسم اللہ الرحمٰن الرحیم

از بندہ خضوع و التجا میزیبد بخشایش بندہ از خدا میزیبد
گر من کنم آنکہ آں مرا نازیبا است تو کن ہمہ آنکہ آں ترا میزیبد

سرکشی ہندوستان کے جواب مضمون میں جو میں نے اصلی اسباب بغاوت ہندوستان کے بیان کئے تھے اگرچہ دل چاہتا تھا کہ اب ان کو صفحہ روزگار پر سے مٹا دوں بلکہ اپنے دل سے بھی بھلا دوں کیونکہ جو اشتہار جناب ملکہ معظمہ کوئین وکٹوریا دام سلطنتا نے جاری کیا ہے درحقیقت وہ بغاوت کے ہر ایک اصلی سبب کا پورا علاج ہے۔ حق یہ ہے کہ اشتہار کا مضمون دیکھ کر بغاوت کے سبب لکھنے والوں کے ہاتھ سے قلم گر پڑے کسی کو ضرورت نہ رہی کہ اب ان کی تشخیص کریں اس لئے کہ اب ان کا علاج پورا ہو گیا۔

مگر ان فسادات کے اصلی سببوں پر غور کرنا اور اپنی صداقت سے سچے سچے سببوں کا بیان کرنا میں ایک عمدہ خیرخواہی اپنے گورنمنٹ کی سمجھتا ہوں اس لئے مجھ پر واجب ہے کہ گو ان کا علاج بخوبی ہو گیا ہو پھر بھی جو سبب میرے دل میں ہیں، ان کو بھی ظاہر کر دوں۔ سچ ہے کہ بہت بڑے بڑے دانا اور تجربہ کار لوگوں نے اس بغاوت کے سبب لکھے ہیں مگر امید ہے کہ شاید کسی ہندوستانی آدمی نے اس میں کوئی بات نہ لکھی ہو۔ بہتر ہے کہ ایسے شخص کی بھی ایک رائے رہے۔

مضمون

کیا سبب ہوا ہندوستان کی سرکشی کا

جواب

سرکشی کے معنی اور اس کی مثالیں

Definition of "Rebellion" exemplified with instances.

اس کا جواب دینے سے پہلے ہم کو بتانا چاہیے کہ سرکشی کے کیا معنی ہیں جان لو کہ اپنے گورنمنٹ کا مقابلہ کرنا یا مخالفوں کے شریک ہونا یا مخالفانہ ارادے سے حکم نہ ماننا اور نہ بجالانا یا نڈر ہو کر گورنمنٹ کے حقوق اور حدوں کو توڑنا سرکشی ہے۔ مثلاً

۱۔ نوکر کا یا رعیت کا اپنے گورنمنٹ سے لڑنا اور مقابلہ کرنا۔

۲۔ یا مخالفانہ ارادے سے حکم کا نہ ماننا اور نہ بجالانا۔

۳۔ یا مخالفوں کی مدد کرنا اور ان کے شریک ہونا۔

۴۔ یا رعیت کا نڈر ہو کر آپس میں لڑنا اور حد معینہ گورنمنٹ سے تجاوز کرنا۔

۵۔ یا اپنے گورنمنٹ کی محبت اور خیرخواہی دل میں نہ رکھنا اور مصیبت کے وقت طرف داری نہ کرنا۔

اس نازک وقت میں جو سنہ ۱۸۵۷ء میں گزرا۔ ان اقسام کے سرکشیوں میں سے کوئی قسم کی بھی سرکشی ایسی نہیں ہے جو نہ ہوئی ہو بلکہ بہت تھوڑے دانا آدمی ایسے نکلیں گے جو پچھلی بات سے خالی ہوں حالانکہ یہ پچھلی بات جیسی ظاہر میں کم ہے ویسی ہی قدر میں بہت زیادہ ہے۔

سرکشی کا ارادہ دل میں کیوں آتا ہے

Why it is resorted to.

سرکشی کا ارادہ جو دل میں پیدا ہوتا ہے اس کا سبب ایک ہی ہوتا ہے یعنی پیش آنا ان باتوں کا جو مخالف ہوں ان لوگوں کی طبیعت اور طینت اور ارادہ اور عزم اور رسم و رواج اور خصلت اور جبلت کے جنھوں نے سرکشی کی۔

سنہ ۱۸۵۷ء کی سرکشی کسی ایک بات سے نہیں ہوئی بلکہ بہت سی باتوں کا مجموعہ تھا

The Rebellion of 1857 did not originate from a single cause--- but from a complication of causes.

اس بیان سے ثابت ہوتا ہے کہ کوئی خاص بات عام سرکشی کا باعث نہیں ہو سکتی ہاں عام سرکشی کا باعث یا کوئی ایسی عام بات ہو سکتی ہے کہ جو سب کی طبیعتوں کے مخالف ہو یا متعدد باتیں ہوں کہ کسی نے کسی گروہ کی اور کسی نے کسی گروہ کی طبیعت کو پھیر دیا ہو اور رفتہ رفتہ عام سرکشی ہو گئی ہو۔

سنہ ۱۸۵۷ء کی سرکشی میں یہی ہوا کہ بہت سی باتیں ایک مدت دراز سے لوگوں کے دل میں جمع ہوتی جاتی تھیں اور بہت بڑا میگھہ زین جمع ہو گیا تھا صرف اس کے شتابے میں آگ لگانی باقی تھی کہ سال گزشتہ میں فوج کی بغاوت نے اس میں آگ لگا دی۔

چپاتی بٹنا کوئی سازش کی بات نہ تھی

The distribution of "Chupaties," had not league for its object.

سنہ ۱۸۵۷ء میں ہندوستان کے اکثر ضلعوں میں دیہہ بدیہہ چپاتی بٹی اور اسی کے قریب زمانہ میں سرکشی ہوئی اگرچہ اس زمانہ میں تمام ہندوستان میں وبائی بیماری تھی اور خیال میں آتا ہے کہ اس کے دفعہ کرنے کو بطور ٹوٹکہ یہ کام ہوا ہو کیونکہ جاہل ہندوستانی اس قسم کے ٹوٹکہ بہت کیا کرتے ہیں مگر حق یہ ہے کہ اس کا اصلی سبب اب تک نہیں کھلا لیکن اس میں کچھ شک نہیں کہ وہ چپاتی کسی سازش کی بنیاد نہیں ہو سکتی یہ قاعدہ ہے کہ اس قسم کی چیز البتہ ایک نشانی ہوتی ہے واسطے تصدیق زبانی پیغام کے اور ظاہر ہے کہ اس چپاتی کے ساتھ کوئی زبانی پیغام نہ تھا اگر ہوتا تو ممکن نہ تھا کہ باوجود منتشر ہونے کے اور ہر قوم اور ہر طبیعت کے آدمیوں میں پھیلنے کے مخفی رہتا جس طرح پر کہ ہندوستان میں سرکشی پھیلی اور یہاں سے وہاں اور وہاں سے وہاں دوڑی صاف دلیل ہے کہ پہلے سے کچھ سازش نہ تھی۔

روس اور ایران کی سازش کچھ نہ تھی

روس اور ایران کی سازش سے ہندوستان میں سرکشی کا خیال کرنا نہایت بے بنیاد بات ہے۔ ہندوستانیوں پر جو معلوم نہیں کہ روسیوں کو کیا سمجھتے ہوں گے کیونکر ان سے سازش کا احتمال

Russia and Persia not chargeable with a league in this matter.

ہو سکتا ہے۔ ایرانیوں سے ہندو کسی طرح سازش نہیں کر سکتے۔ ہندوستان کے مسلمانوں میں اور ایرانیوں میں موافقت ہونی ایسی غیر ممکن ہے جیسے پروٹسنٹ اور رومن کیتھولک میں اگر دن اور رات کا ایک وقت میں جمع ہونا ممکن ہے تو البتہ اس سازش کا ہونا بھی ممکن ہے تعجب ہے کہ جب روس اور ایران میں محاربات درپیش تھے تب ہندوستان میں کچھ نہ تھا اور جب ہندوستان میں فساد ہوا تو وہاں کچھ نہ تھا اور پھر سازش کا خیال کیا جاوے۔

اشتہار کا ذکر جو شاہزادہ ایران کے خیمہ میں سے نکلا

The subject of the Proclamation which was found in the tent of a Persian Prince discused.

اشتہار جو مشہور ہے کہ ایران کے شاہزادہ کے خیمہ میں سے نکلا اس کا کوئی لفظ ہندوستان کی سازش پر دلالت نہیں کرتا اس کا مضمون صاف اپنے ملک کے لوگوں کی ترغیب کا ہے۔ ہندوستان کی خرابی کا ذکر اس بنیاد پر ہے کہ ایرانیوں کو زیادہ تر آمادگی لڑائی پر ہو نہ اس مطلب سے کہ ہندوستان سے سازش ہو چکی ہے۔

دلی کے معزول بادشاہ کا ایران کو فرمان لکھنا تعجب نہیں مگر بنیاد سرکشی نہیں

The despatch of a Firman by the Ex-King of Delhie to the King of Delhie to the King of Persia not improbable--- but not the origin of the rebellion.

دلی کے بادشاہ معزول کا ایران کو فرمان لکھنا ہم کچھ تعجب نہیں سمجھتے۔ دلی کے معزول بادشاہ کا یہ حال تھا کہ اگر اس سے کہا جاتا کہ پرستان میں جنوں کا بادشاہ آپ کا تابعدار ہے تو وہ اس کو سچ سمجھتا اور ایک چھوڑ دس فرمان لکھ دیتا۔ دلی کا معزول بادشاہ ہمیشہ خیال کیا کرتا تھا کہ میں مکھی اور مچھر بن کر اڑ جاتا ہوں اور لوگوں کی اور ملکوں کی خبر لے آتا ہوں اور اس بات کو وہ اپنے خیال میں سچ سمجھتا تھا اور درباریوں سے تصدیق چاہتا تھا اور سب تصدیق کرتے تھے ایسے مالیخولیا والے آدمی نے کسی کے کہے سے کوئی فرمان لکھ دیا ہو تو تعجب نہیں، مگر حاشا کہ وہ کسی طرح بھی سازش کی بنیاد ہو۔ کیا تعجب نہیں آتا کہ اتنی بڑی سازش اور اتنی مدت سے ہو رہی ہو اور ہمارے حکام بالکل بے خبر رہیں۔ سرکشی کے بعد بھی کیا فوجی اور کیا ملکی کسی باغی نے بھی آپس میں

کسی قسم کی سازش کا بھی تذکرہ نہیں کیا حالانکہ سرکشی کے بعد ان کو کس کا ڈر تھا۔

اودھ کی ضبطی اس عام فساد کا باعث نہیں

The annexation of Oude not the cause of the general rise.

اودھ کی ضبطی کو بھی ہم سبب اس سرکشی کا نہیں سمجھتے اس میں کچھ شک نہیں کہ اودھ کی ضبطی سے سب لوگ ناراض ہوئے اور سب نے یقین کیا کہ انریبل ایسٹ انڈیا کمپنی نے خلاف عہد اور اقرار کے کیا۔ عموماً رعایا کو ضبطی اودھ سے اس قدر ناراضی ہوئی تھی جتنی کہ ہمیشہ ہوا کرتی تھی جب کمپنی کسی ملک کو فتح کرتی تھی جس کا بیان آگے آئے گا، زیادہ تر ڈر اور خوف اور ناراضی دلی والیان اور رئیسان خود مختار ہندوستان کو ہوئی تھی۔ سب کو یقین تھا کہ اس طرح سب کے ملک اور سب کی ریاستیں اور حکومتیں چھینی جائیں گی مگر ہم دیکھتے ہیں کہ صاحب ملک رئیسوں میں سے کوئی باغی نہیں ہوا۔ اس فساد میں اکثر وہی لوگ ہیں جن کے ملک ان کے ہاتھ میں نہیں ہیں۔ اس کے جواب میں یہ مت کہو کہ جھجر کا نواب اور بلب گڑھ کا راجہ اور فلاں فلاں باغی ہو گیا۔

قوم کی سازش واسطے اٹھا دینے غیر قوم کی حکومت کے نہیں

The national league not framed with the view of overthrowing the Government of strangers.

اس فساد کا یہ بھی خیال کرنا نہیں چاہئے کہ اس حسرت اور افسوس کے باعث سے کہ ہندوستانیوں کے قدیم ملک پر غیر قوم قابض ہو گئے تھے۔ تمام قوم نے اتفاق کر کر سرکشی کی، سمجھنے کی بات ہے کہ ہمارے گورنمنٹ کی عملداری دفعتاً ہندوستان میں نہیں آئی تھی بلکہ رفتہ رفتہ ہوئی تھی جس کی ابتدا سنہ ۱۷۵۷ء وقت شکست کھانے سراج الدولہ کے، پلاسی پر سے شمار ہوتی ہے۔ اس زمانہ سے چند روز پیشتر تک تم رعایا اور رئیسوں کے دل ہمارے گورنمنٹ کی طرف کھینچے تھے اور ہمارے گورنمنٹ اور اس کے حکام متعہد کے اخلاق اور اوصاف اور رحم و عطا اور استحکام عہود اور رعایا پروری اور امن آسائش سن سن کر جو

عملداریاں ہندو اور مسلمانوں کی ہمارے گورنمنٹ کے ہمسایہ میں تھیں وہ خواہش رکھتی تھیں اس بات کی کہ ہمارے گورنمنٹ کی حکومت کے سایہ میں ہوں۔ بادشاہان ملک غیر بھی کمال اعتماد رکھتے تھے۔ ہمارے گورنمنٹ پر اور جو عہد و میثاق ہمارے گورنمنٹ سے باندھتے تھے اس کو بہت ہی پکا اور پتھر کی لکیر سمجھتے تھے باوجودیکہ ہمارے گورنمنٹ کو پہلے کی بہ نسبت اب بہت بڑا اقتدار ہے برعکس ہندوستانیوں کے کہ ہندوستان کے رئیسوں اور صوبہ داروں اور والیان ملک کو جو طاقت اور اختیار پہلے تھا اس کا عشر عشیر بھی اب نہیں حالانکہ اُن زمانوں میں بہت سی لڑائیاں ہمارے گورنمنٹ کو ہندوستان کی ہر قوم ہندو مسلمان سے پیش آئیں اور ہمارے گورنمنٹ فتح یاب ہوتے گئے اور تمام ہندوستانیوں کو یقین تھا کہ ایک دن تمام ہندوستان پر ہمارے گورنمنٹ کی حکومت ہوگی اور یہ سب رعایا ہندوستان کی، کیا ہندو اور کیا مسلمان ایک دن ہمارے گورنمنٹ کے قبضہ قدرت میں آئے گی باوجود ان باتوں کے اس زمانہ میں کسی طرح کی سرکشی اور گورنمنٹ کا مقابلہ نہیں ہوا کہ سب تاریخیں اس ذکر سے خالی ہیں۔ اگر یہ فساد اس سبب سے ہوتا تو ضرور ہے کہ ایسے فسادوں کا نمونہ ان زمانوں میں بھی پایا جاتا خصوصاً اس سبب سے کہ ان زمانوں میں ایسے فسادات کا قابو زیادہ تھا ان محاربات کے وقت میں جو سنہ ۱۸۳۹ء میں شروع تھے جبکہ کسی طرح کی سرکشی ہندوستان میں نہیں ہوئی باوجود کہ صدہا سال تک ہندوستان انہی ملکوں کے بادشاہوں کے تحت حکومت تھا جن سے کہ محاربات درپیش تھے اور انہی بادشاہوں کے سبب سے مسلمانوں کا وجود اور عروج ہندوستان میں ہوا تھا تو اب ہرگز خیال میں بھی نہیں آتا کہ اب کا فساد مسلمانوں نے اپنی حکومت اور سلطنت کے

جاتے رہنے کے رنج سے کیا ہو۔

دلی کے معزول بادشاہ کی وقعت دلی کے لوگوں میں اور ان شہروں میں جو دلی کے قریب تھے کچھ نہ تھی مگر بیرون جات میں

The position of the Ex-King of Delhie well= known withing the town, and its envirous, but over-rated in te district Provinces.

دلی کے معزول بادشاہ کی سلطنت کا کوئی بھی آرزومند نہ تھا اس خاندان کی لغو اور بیہودہ حرکات نے سب کی آنکھوں میں سے اس کی قدر اور منزلت گرا دی تھی ہاں بیرون جات کے لوگ جو بادشاہ کی حالات اور حرکات اور اقتدار اور اختیار سے واقف نہ تھے بلاشبہ بادشاہ کی بڑی قدر سمجھتے تھے اور اس کو ہندوستان کا بادشاہ، اور ازبل ایسٹ انڈیا کمپنی کو منتظم ہندوستان جانتے تھے۔ الا خاص دلی کے اور اس کے قرب وجوار کے رہنے والے بادشاہ کی کچھ بھی وقعت خیال میں نہ لاتے تھے باوجود ان سب باتوں کے ہندوستان کے سب آدمیوں کو بادشاہ کے معدوم ہونے سے کچھ بھی رنج نہ تھا۔ یاد ہو گا کہ جب سنہ ۱۸۲۷ء میں لارڈ امہرسٹ صاحب بہادر نے علانیہ کہہ دیا تھا کہ ہمارے گورنمنٹ اب کچھ تیموریہ خاندان کے تابع نہیں ہے بلکہ وہ خود ہندوستان کی بادشاہ ہے تو اس وقت رعایا اور والیان ہندوستان کو کچھ بھی خیال نہیں ہوا تھا گو خاص بادشاہی خاندان کو کچھ رنج ہوا ہو۔

لارڈ امہرسٹ صاحب کا کہنا کہ خاندان تیمور دلی کا بادشاہ نہیں

The declaration of Lord Amherst, int he year 1827, to the effect that the sovereignty of India belongs to the British Government, and that it no longer existed in the Timour family did not offend any one.

مسلمانوں کا بہت روزوں سے آپس میں سازش اور مشورہ کرنا اس ارادہ سے کہ ہم باہم متفق ہو کر غیر مذہب کے لوگوں پر جہاد کریں اور ان کی حکومت سے آزاد ہو جائیں نہایت بے بنیاد بات ہے جبکہ مسلمان ہمارے گورنمنٹ کے مستامن تھے کسی طرح گورنمنٹ کی عملداری میں جہاد نہیں کر سکتے تھے۔ بیس تیس برس پیشتر ایک بہت بڑے نامی مولوی محمد اسمٰعیل نے ہندوستان میں جہاد کا وعظ کہا اور سب آدمیوں کو جہاد کی ترغیب دی اس وقت اس نے صاف بیان کیا کہ ہندوستان کے رہنے والے جو سرکار انگریزی کے امن میں رہتے ہیں۔ ہندوستان میں

پہلے سے کچھ سازش مسلمانوں میں جہاد کی نہ تھی۔

The Mohamedans did not contemplate jehad against the Christians prior to the outbreak.

مولوی محمد اسمٰعیل کے وعظ اور جہاد کا ذکر

جہاد نہیں کر سکتے اس لئے ہزاروں آدمی جہادی ہر ایک ضلع ہندوستان میں جمع ہوئے اور سرکار کی عملداری میں کسی طرح کا فساد نہیں کیا اور غربی سرحد پنجاب پر جاکر لڑائی کی اور یہ جو ہر ضلع میں پاجی اور جاہلوں کی طرف سے جہاد کا نام ہوا اگر اس کو ہم جہاد ہی فرض کریں تو بھی اس کی سازش اور صلاح قبل دسویں مئی سنہ ۱۸۵۷ء مطلق نہ تھی۔

The preaching of jehad in India, (35) thirty-five years before with this reservation, its practice against the British Government was opposed to the doctrines of the Mahomedan relgion, and from the same cause its practice on the other side of the indus provinces, i.e. against the Seiks was held before.

غور کرنا چاہئے کہ اس زمانہ میں جن لوگوں نے جہاد کا جھنڈا بلند کیا ایسے خراب اور بد رویہ اور بد اطوار آدمی تھے کہ بجز شراب خواری اور تماش بینی اور ناچ اور رنگ دیکھنے کے اور کچھ وظیفہ ان کا نہ تھا بھلا یہ کیونکر پیشوا اور مقتدا جہاد کے گنے جاسکتے تھے۔ اس ہنگامہ میں کوئی بات بھی مذہب کے مطابق نہیں ہوئی سب جانتے ہیں کہ سرکاری خزانہ اور اسباب جو امانت تھا اس میں خیانت کرنا، ملازمین کو نمک حرامی کرنی، مذہب کے رو سے درست نہ تھی۔ صریح ظاہر ہے کہ بے گناہوں کا قتل علی الخصوص عورتوں اور بچوں اور بوڑھوں کا، مذہب کے بموجب گناہ عظیم تھا پھر کیونکر یہ ہنگامہ غدر جہاد ہو سکتا تھا ہاں البتہ چند بدذاتوں نے دنیا کی طمع اور اپنی منفعت اور اپنے خیالات پورا کرنے کو اور جاہلوں کے بہکانے کو اور اپنے ساتھ جمعیت جمع کرنے کو جہاد کا نام لے دیا پھر یہ بات بھی مفسدوں کی حرم زدگیوں میں سے ایک حرم زدگی تھی نہ واقع میں جہاد۔

اس ہنگامہ میں کوئی بات مسلمانوں کے مذہب کے مطابق نہیں ہوئی

None of the acts committed by the Mahamedan by rebels during the disturbances were in accordance with the tenets of the Mahomedan religion.

دلی میں جو جہاد کا فتویٰ چھپا وہ ایک عمدہ دلیل جہاد کی سمجھی جاتی ہے مگر میں نے تحقیق سنا ہے اور اس کے اثبات پر بہت دلیلیں ہیں کہ وہ محض بے اصل ہے۔ میں نے سنا ہے کہ جب فوج نمک حرام میرٹھ سے دلی میں گئی تو کسی شخص نے جہاد کے باب میں فتویٰ چاہا سب نے فتویٰ دیا کہ جہاد نہیں ہو سکتا اگرچہ

دلی میں جہاد کا فتویٰ جو باغیوں نے چھاپا وہ دراصل جھوٹا تھا۔

The Futwa of jahad printed at Delhie was a counterfeit one.

اس پہلے فتویٰ کی میں نے نقل دیکھی ہے مگر جب کہ وہ اصل فتویٰ معدوم ہے تو میں اس نقل کو نہیں کہہ سکتا کہ کہاں تک لائق اعتماد کے ہے مگر جب بریلی کی فوج دلی میں پہنچی اور دوبارہ فتویٰ ہوا جو مشہور ہے اور جس میں جہاد کرنا واجب لکھا ہے۔ بلاشبہ اصلی نہیں۔ چھاپنے والا اس فتویٰ جو ایک مفسد اور نہایت قدیمی بدذات آدمی تھا جاہلوں کے بہکانے اور ورغلانے کو لوگوں کے نام لکھ کر اور چھاپ کر اس کو رونق دیا تھا بلکہ ایک آدھ مہر ایسے شخص کی چھاپ دی تھی جو قبل غدر مرچکا تھا مگر مشہور ہے کہ چند آدمیوں نے فوج باغی بریلی اور اس کے مفسد ہمراہیوں کے جبر اور ظلم سے مہریں بھی کی تھیں۔

دلی میں مولویں کا بڑا گروہ جو معزول بادشاہ کو بدعتی سمجھتا تھا اور اس کی مقبوضہ مسجدوں میں نماز نہ پڑھتے تھے

A large number of the Moulvies who considered the King of Delhie a violater of the law left off praying in the Royal mosque.

دلی میں ایک بہت بڑا گروہ مولویں اور ان کے تابعین کا ایسا تھا کہ وہ مذہب کی رو سے معزول بادشاہ دلی کو بہت برا اور بدعتی سمجھتے تھے ان کا یہ عقیدہ تھا کہ دلی کی جن مسجدوں میں بادشاہ کا قبض و دخل اور اہتمام ہے ان مسجدوں میں نماز درست نہیں چنانچہ وہ لوگ جامع سجد میں بھی نماز نہیں پڑھتے تھے اور غدر سے بہت قبل کے چھپے ہوئے فتویٰ اس معاملہ میں موجود ہیں پھر کبھی عقل قبول کر سکتی ہے کہ ان لوگوں نے جہاد کے درست ہونے میں اور بادشاہ کو سردار بنانے میں فتویٰ دیا ہو جن لوگوں کی مہر اس فتوے پر چھاپی گئی ہے ان میں سے بعضوں نے عیسائیوں کو پناہ دی اور ان کی جان اور عزت کی حفاظت کی ان میں سے کوئی شخص لڑائی پر نہیں چڑھا، مقابلہ پر نہیں آیا۔ اگر واقع میں وہ ایسا ہی سمجھتے جیسا مشہور ہے تو یہ باتیں کیوں کرتے غرض کہ میری رائے میں کبھی مسلمانوں کے خیال میں بھی نہیں آیا کہ باہم متفق ہو کر غیر مذہب کے حاکموں پر جہاد کریں اور جاہلوں اور مفسدوں کا غلغلہ ڈال دینا کہ جہاد ہے، جہاد ہے اور ایک نعرہ حیدری پکارتے

جن کی مہریں فتویٰ پر چھاپی ہیں ان میں سے بعضوں نے عیسائیوں کی جان اور عزت کی پناہ دی ہے

The same persons, whose seals are said to be affixed to the Futwa at Delhie, protected the lives and honor of christians.

بھرنا قابل اعتبار کے نہیں ہاں البتہ مسلمانوں کو جس قدر ناراضی باعتبار مذہب کے تھی اور جس سبب سے تھی وہ ہم آئندہ صاف بیان کریں گے۔ اس میں کچھ شک نہیں کہ ہندوؤں کی بہ نسبت مسلمانوں کو ہر ایک بات میں زیادہ تر ناراضی تھی اور یہی سبب ہے کہ مسلمان بہ نسبت ہندوؤں کے بعض اضلاع میں زیادہ تر مفسد ہوئے گو جن اضلاع میں کہ ہندوؤں نے فساد کیا وہ بھی کچھ کم نہیں ہے۔

پہلے سے فوج میں بغاوت کی صلاح نہ تھی

The Bengal army was not previously in league for an outbreak.

فوج میں ہرگز مشورہ اور پہلے سے صلاح درباب بغاوت کے نہ تھی۔ تحقیق بات ہے کہ باغیان فوج نے بعد بغاوت بھی کبھی اس بات کا آپس میں بھی ذکر نہیں کیا۔ ہاں بارک پور کے واقعہ کے بعد اور خصوصاً اس زمانہ میں جب کہ پنجاب میں قواعد جدید سکھانے کو متعدد پلٹنوں کے آدمی جمع کئے گئے، آپس میں یہ صلاح ٹھہری اور اس پر اتفاق ہوا کہ جدید کارتوس کبھی استعمال میں نہ لائیں گے اس وقت بھی اور کسی قسم کا ارادہ اور نیت نہ تھی بلکہ یقینی سمجھتے تھے کہ سرکار اس بات کو موقوف کر دے گی اگرچہ یہ موقوف ہوا مگر دسویں مئی سنہ ۱۸۵۷ء کے بعد موقوفی سے کچھ فایدہ اس فساد کے رفع ہونے میں جو ہو گیا تھا، نہ تھا اور نہ آگ اس قابل نہ تھی کہ ایسی تدبیروں سے بجھ سکتی۔

پہلے سے فوج باغی کی بادشاہ دہلی سے سازش نہ تھی

Nor was there any league between the army and the Ex-King though it is not improbable that soe sepoy or non-commissioned Officer may have been his disciple.

فوج باغی کا پہلے سے دلی کے معزول بادشاہ سے سازش کرنا محض بے اصل ہے دلی کے بادشاہ کو کوئی شخص ولی اور بمقدس نہیں سمجھتا تھا اس کے منہ پر لوگ اس کی خوشامد کرتے تھے اور پیٹھ پیچھے ہنستے تھے۔ لوگ اس کے مرید ہوتے تھے کسی فایدہ کی نظر سے، نہ بطور اعتقاد۔ کچھ عجب نہیں کہ کسی پلٹن کا کوئی تلنگہ یا صوبیدار بھی مرید ہوا ہو مگر اس بات کو سازش بغاوت سے کچھ بھی علاقہ نہیں ہے بلاشبہ فوج باغی دلی پر جمع ہو گئی مگر جب اس

نے سرکار سے بگاڑی تھی تو دلی کے بادشاہ کے سوا ایسا اور کون شخص تھا کہ جس کی طرف فوج رجوع کرتی۔ اس میں کچھ پہلے سے سازش کی حاجت نہ تھی بلاشبہ جو ہیئت بادشاہ دلی کی سرکار نے بنا رکھی تھی وہ ہمیشہ نامناسب اور قابل اعتراض کے تھی اور جناب لارڈ الن برا صاحب بہادر نے جو تجویز کی تھی وہ بیشک لائق منظوری کے تھی بلکہ اس سے زیادہ عمل درآمد کرنا واجب تھا بیشک دلی کا بادشاہ بھوبل میں کی ایک چنگاری تھا جس نے ہوا کے زور سے اڑ کر تمام ہندوستان کو جلا دیا۔

شریک نہ ہونا ہندوستانیوں کا لیجسلیٹو کونسل میں اصلی سبب فساد کا ہوا

The non-admission of a native as a member into the Legislative Council was the original cause of the outbreak.

اصلی سبب اس فساد کا میں تو ایک ہی سمجھتا ہوں باقی جس قدر اسباب ہیں وہ سب اس کی شاخیں ہیں اور یہ سمجھ میری کچھ وہمی اور قیاسی ہی نہیں ہے بلکہ اگلے زمانہ کے بہت سے عقلمندوں کی رائے کا اس بات پر اتفاق ہو چکا ہے اور تمام مصنفین پرنسپل آف گورنمنٹ کے اس باب میں میرے طرف دار ہیں اور تمام تاریخیں یورپ اور افریقہ کی میری رائے کی صداقت پر بہت معتمد گواہ ہیں۔

یہ بات بہت ضرور تھی

The importance of such and admission discused.

سب لوگ تسلیم کرتے چلے آئے ہیں کہ واسطے اسلوبی اور خوبی اور پائیداری گورنمنٹ کے مداخلت رعایا کی حکومت ملک میں واجبات سے ہے حکام کو بھلائی یا برائی تدبیر کی صرف لوگوں سے معلوم ہوتی ہے پیشتر اس سے کہ خرابیاں اس درجہ کو پہنچیں کہ پھر جن کا علاج ممکن نہ ہو (شعر)

سرچشمہ شاید گرفتن بمیل چو پرشد نشاید گذشتن بہ پیل

اور یہ بات نہیں حاصل ہوتی جب تک کہ مداخلت رعایا کی حکومت ملک میں نہ ہو علی الخصوص ہمارے گورنمنٹ کو جو غیر ملک کے رہنے والے تھے اور مذہب اور رواج اور راہ و رسم اور طبیعت اور عادت بھی اس ملک سے مختلف رکھتے تھے اس بات پر خیال رکھنا

واجبات سے تھا گورنمنٹ کا انتظام اور اس کی خوبی اور اسلوبی اور پائیداری ملکی اطوار اور عادات کی واقفیت اور پھر اس کی رعایت پر موقوف ہے کیونکہ اگلی تاریخوں کے دیکھنے سے جو درحقیقت ایک روزنامچہ ہے، عادات اور خیالات اور اطوار مختلف نوع انسان کا معلوم ہو سکتا ہے کہ ان کی عادتیں اور خیالات اور اطوار موافق کسی عقلی قاعدہ کے حاصل نہیں ہوئیں ہیں بلکہ ہر ایک ملک اور قوم میں بحسب اتفاق ہو گئی ہیں۔ پس قواعد گورنمنٹ ان اوضاع اور اطوار پر موقوف ہیں نہ یہ کہ وہ اوضاع اور اطوار اور عادات قواعد گورنمنٹ پر اور اسی بات میں گورنمنٹ کی پائیداری اور قیام ہے کیونکہ جب تک وہ عادتیں اور اخلاق رعایا کے دل میں مستحکم اور بمنزلہ خاصیت انسانی کے ہو گئی ہیں اس وقت تک ان کے برخلاف کرنا صریح خاصیت انسانی کے برخلاف کرنا اور سب کو رنجیدہ رکھنا ہے کیا ہم بھول جائیں گے بنگال کی اس بے انتظامی کی حالت کو جو سنہ ۱۷۶۵ء میں بروقت تفویض ہونے دیوانی بنگہ بہ کمپنی انگریز بہادر اسی ناواقفیت کے سبب ہوئی، تھی باوصف کہ جان کلارک مارشمن صاحب کی تاریخ ہم کو اسے یاد دلا رہی ہے اور کیا یاد نہ رہے گی ہم کو وہ خوبی جو بنگال میں لارڈ ہسٹنگز صاحب بہادر کی زبان دانی اور ملکی راہ و رسم کی واقفیت سے حاصل ہوئی تھی۔

بلاشبہ پارلیمنٹ میں ہندوستان کی رعایا کی مداخلت غیر ممکن اور بے فایدہ محض تھی مگر لیجس لیٹو کونسل میں مداخلت نہ رکھنے کی کوئی وجہ نہ تھی پس یہی ایک بات ہے جو جڑ ہے تمام ہندوستان کے فساد کی اور جتنی باتیں اور جمع ہوتی گئیں وہ سب اس کی شاخیں ہیں۔

ہم یہ نہیں کہتے کہ ہمارے گورنمنٹ نے ملکی حالات اور اطوار دریافت کرنے میں کوشش نہیں کی بلکہ ہم اس کے بدل مقر

ہیں اور بعض قوانین گورنمنٹ اور ہدایات بورڈ آف ریونیو اور انربل تامسن صاحب کے ہدایت نامہ مال کو اس کا گواہ سمجھتے ہیں مگر اس میں کچھ شک نہیں کہ رعایا کے حالات اور عادات اور خیالات اور اوضاع اور اطوار اور طبیعت اور طینت اور لیاقت کے دریافت کرنے میں توجہ نہیں کی بلاشبہ ہمارے گورنمنٹ کو نہیں معلوم تھا کہ ہماری رعیت پر دن کیسا گزرتا ہے اور رات کس مصیبت کی آتی ہے اور وہ دن بدن کس غم اور مصیبت میں پڑتے جاتے ہیں اور کیا کیا رنج روز بروز ان کے دل میں جمتے جاتے ہیں جو رفتہ رفتہ بہت کثرت سے جمع ہوگئے تھے اور ایک ادنیٰ تحریک سے دفعتاً بہہ پڑے۔

اسی سبب سے رعایا کا منشا گورنمنٹ پر نہ کھلا اور گورنمنٹ کا نیک ارادہ ہندوستانیوں پر ظاہر نہ ہوا بلکہ برعکس سمجھا گیا

The non-admission of such a member proved a hinderance to the development of the godd feelling of the Indian subject towards the Govt. and of their good intentions towards them; onthe contrary, contrary effects were produced.

لیجس لیٹو کونسل میں ہندوستانیوں کے شریک نہ ہونے سے صرف اتنا ہی نقصان نہیں ہوا کہ گورنمنٹ کو اصلی مضرت قوانین اور ضوابط کے جو جاری ہوئے، بخوبی معلوم نہیں ہو سکے اور اعتراض عام رعایا جس کا لحاظ رکھنا گورنمنٹ کو واجبات سے تھا، ملحوظ نہیں رہیں اور رعایا کو اس مضرت کے رفع کرنے اور اپنے مطالب کے پیش کرنے کی فرصت اور قدرت نہیں ملی بلکہ بہت بڑا نقصان یہ ہوا کہ رعایا کو منشا اور اصلی مطلب اور دلی ارادہ گورنمنٹ کو معلوم نہ ہوا۔ گورنمنٹ کی ہر تجویز پر رعایا کو غلط فہمی ہوئی جو تجویز گورنمنٹ کی ہوتی تھی، ہندوستانیوں کو بسبب اس کے کہ وہ لوگ اس میں شریک نہ تھے اور منشاء اور لم اس تجویز سے واقف نہ تھے۔ اس کی بنیاد معلوم نہ ہوئی اور ہمیشہ یہی سمجھے کہ یہ بات بھی ہمارے اور ہمارے ہم وطنوں کے خراب اور برباد اور ذلیل اور بے دھرم کرنے کو ہے اور وہ بعضی باتیں جو درحقیقت گورنمنٹ سے برخلاف رواج اور مخالف طبیعت اور طینت ہندوستانیوں کے صادر ہوئی تھیں، قطع نظر اس سے کہ وہ

فی نفسہ اچھی تھیں یا بری، زیادہ تر ان کے غلط خیالات کو تقویت دیتی تھیں۔ رفتہ رفتہ یہ نوبت پہنچ گئی کہ رعایا ہندوستان کی ہمارے گورنمنٹ کو میٹھے زہر اور شہد کی چھری اور ٹھنڈی آنچ کی مثال دیا کرتی تھی اور پھر اس کو اپنے دل میں سچ سمجھتی تھی اور یہ جانتی تھی کہ اگر ہم آج گورنمنٹ کے ہاتھ سے بچے ہوئے ہیں تو کل نہیں اور کل ہیں تو پرسوں نہیں اور کوئی شخص ان کے حالات کو پوچھنے والا اور کوئی تدبیر ان کی اس غلط خیال کو دور کرنے والی نہ تھی جبکہ رعایا کا گورنمنٹ کے ساتھ یہ حال ہو جو دلی دشمن کے ساتھ ہونا چاہئے تو پھر کیا توقع ہو سکتی ہے وفاداری کی ایسی گورنمنٹ کو ایسی رعایا سے اور جبکہ ہمارے گورنمنٹ درحقیقت ایسی نہ تھی تو ان غلط خیالات کا ہندوستانیوں کے دل میں جمنا اور جو رنج کہ ان کے دل پر تھا اس کا علاج نہ ہونا صرف اسی سبب سے تھا کہ لیجس لیٹف کونسل میں ہندوستانی شریک نہ تھے اگر ہوتے تو یہ سب باتیں رفع ہوتی جاتیں اب اگر غور سے دیکھا جائے تو صرف یہی ایک بات ہے جس نے اپنی بہت سی شاخیں پیدا کر کر تمام ہندوستان میں بے جا فساد کر دیا۔

یہ مت کہو کہ ہمارے گورنمنٹ نے چھاپہ خانوں میں سوائے کاپی اور افترا اور جن باتوں سے فتنہ یا سرکشی وقوع میں آئے اور سب امورات کے چھاپنے کی اجازت دی تھی اور قانون جاری ہونے سے پہلے مشہور کیا جاتا تھا اور ہر شخص کو اس پر عذرات پیش کرنے کا اختیار تھا کیونکہ یہ امور ان بڑی عظیم الشان باتوں کے علاج کو جس کا ہم ذکر کرتے ہیں، محض ناکافی بلکہ محض بے فایدہ تھی۔

اور ہم نہیں چاہتے کہ اس مقام پر ہم سے یہ گفتگو کی جائے کہ ہندوستانیوں کا جو نہایت جاہل ہیں اور بے تربیت لیجس لیٹف کونسل میں شریک ہونا کس طرح ہوتا اور کیا قاعدہ ہندوستانیوں کے

شرکت کا نکلنا اور اگر رعایا ہندوستان کو مثل پارلیمنٹ کے لیجس لیٹف کونسل میں مداخلت دی جاتی تو طریقہ ان کے انتخاب کا کیا ہوتا اور اس میں بہت سی مشکلیں پیش آتیں کیونکہ اس مقام پر ہم کو صرف اتنا ثابت کرنا ہے کہ یہ بات گورنمنٹ کے لئے بہت اچھی اور پر ضرور تھی اور اسی کے نہ ہونے کے سبب یہ فساد برپا ہوئے اور طریقہ مداخلت رعایا کی بابت ہماری علیحدہ رائے ہے اس کو دیکھنا چاہئے اور جو بحث ہو، وہاں کرنی چاہئے۔

سرکشی کا ہونا پانچ اصول پر مبنی ہے
The outbreak of Rebellion proceeded from the following five causes.

یہ نقص جو ہمارے گورنمنٹ میں تھا اس نے تمام ہندوستان کے حالات میں سرایت کی اور جس قدر اسباب سرکشی کے جمع ہو گئے گو وہ اسی ایک امر پر متفرع ہیں مگر غور کرکے سب کو احاطہ میں لایا جائے تو پانچ اصول پر مبنی ہوتے ہیں۔

اول: غلط فہمی رعایا یعنی برعکس سمجھنا تجاویز گورنمنٹ کا۔

دوم: جاری ہونا ایسے آئین اور ضوابط اور طریقہ حکومت کا جو ہندوستان کی حکومت اور ہندوستانیوں کی عادات کے مناسب نہ تھے یا مضرت رسانی کرتے تھے۔

سوم: ناواقف رہنا گورنمنٹ کا رعایا کی اصلی حالات اور اطوار اور عادات اور ان مصائب سے جو ان پر گزرتی تھیں اور جن سے رعایا کا دل گورنمنٹ سے پھٹا جاتا تھا۔

چہارم: ترک ہونا ان امور کا ہمارے گورنمنٹ کی طرف سے جن کا بجا لانا ہمارے گورنمنٹ پر ہندوستان کی حکومت کے لئے واجب اور لازم تھا۔

پنجم: بدانتظامی اور بے اہتمامی فوج کی۔

اب ہم ان پانچوں اصل کی تفصیل اور اس کی ہر ہر شاخ کو جدا جدا بیان کرتے ہیں۔ وباللہ التوفیق!

اصل اول

غلط فہمی رعایا یعنی برعکس سمجھنا تجاویز گورنمنٹ کا

اول غلط فہمی رعایا
Firstly---Misuderstanding on the part of the Indians.

اس مقام پر جتنی باتیں ہم بیان کرتے ہیں ان سے ہمارا یہ مطلب نہیں ہے کہ درحقیقت ہمارے گورنمنٹ میں یہ باتیں تھیں بلکہ یہ مطلب ہے کہ لوگوں نے یوں غلط سمجھا اور سرکشی کا سبب ہو گیا اگر ہندوستانی آدمی بھی لیجس لیٹف کونسل میں مداخلت رکھتے تو یہ غلط فہمی واقع نہ ہوتی۔

مداخلت مذہبی سمجھنا
Apprehension of interference of government with the relgious customs of the Indians.

مداخلت مذہبی کچھ شبہ نہیں کہ تمام لوگ جاہل اور قابل اور اعلیٰ اور ادنیٰ یقین جانتے تھے کہ ہمارے گورنمنٹ کا دلی ارادہ ہے کہ مذہب اور رسم و رواج میں مداخلت کرے اور سب کو، کیا ہندو اور کیا مسلمان عیسائی مذہب اور اپنے ملک کی رسم و رواج لا ڈالے پر ذاتی اور سب سے بڑا سبب اس سرکشی میں یہی ہے۔

سکندرہ کے یتیموں کا ذکر
Mention of the Secundra Orphan Asylum.

ہر شخص دل سے جانتا تھا کہ ہمارے گورنمنٹ کے احکام بہت آہستہ آہستہ ظہور میں آتے ہیں اور جو کام کرنا ہوتا ہے، رفتہ رفتہ کیا کرتے ہیں اس واسطے دفعتاً اور جبراً مسلمانوں کی طرح دین بدلنے کو نہیں کہتے مگر جتنا جتنا قابو پاتے جائیں گے اتنی اتنی مداخلت کرتے جائیں گے اور جو باتیں رفتہ رفتہ ظہور میں آتی گئیں جن کا بیان آگے آئے گا ان کے اس غلط شبہ کو زیادہ تر مستحکم اور مضبوط کرتی گئیں سب کو یقین تھا کہ ہمارے گورنمنٹ اعلانیہ جبر مذہب بدلنے پر نہیں کریں گے بلکہ خفیہ تدبیریں کر کر مثل نابود کر دینے علم عربی و سنسکرت کے اور مفلس اور محتاج کر دینے ملک کے اور لوگوں کو جو ان کا مذہب ہے اس کے مسائل سے ناواقف کر کر اور اپنے دین و مذہب کی کتابیں اور مسائل اور

وعظ کو پھیلا کر نوکریوں کا لالچ دے کر لوگوں کو بے دین کر دیں گے۔ سنہ ۱۸۳۷ء کی قحط سالی میں جو یتیم لڑکے کم عمر عیسائی کئے گئے وہ تمام اضلاع ممالک مغربی شمالی میں ارادہ گورنمنٹ کے ایک نمونہ گنے جاتے تھے کہ ہندوستان کو اس طرح پر مفلس اور محتاج کر کر اپنے مذہب میں لے آئیں گے۔ میں سچ کہتا ہوں کہ جب سرکار انربل ایسٹ انڈیا کمپنی کوئی ملک فتح کرتی تھی، ہندوستان کی رعایا کو کمال رنج ہوتا تھا اور یہ بھی میں سچ کہتا ہوں کہ منشا اس رنج کا اور کچھ نہیں ہوتا تھا بجز اس کے کہ لوگ جانتے تھے کہ جوں جوں اختیار ہمارے گورنمنٹ کا زیادہ ہوتا جائے گا ویسے ویسے ہمارے مذہب اور رسم و رواج میں زیادہ تر داخلت کریں گے۔

مذہبی گفتگو بہت ہوئی

Religious discussions being carried to a great height during the present time.

ہمارے گورنمنٹ کی ابتدائے حکومت ہندوستان میں گفتگو مذہب کی بہت کم تھی روز بروز زیادہ ہوتی گئی اور اس زمانہ میں بدرجہ کمال پہنچ گئی۔ اس میں کچھ شک نہیں کہ ہمارے گورنمنٹ کو ان امور میں کچھ مداخلت نہ تھی مگر ہر شخص یہ سمجھتا تھا کہ یہ سب معاملہ بموجب حکم اور بموجب اشارہ اور مرضی گورنمنٹ ہوتے ہیں۔ سب جانتے تھے کہ گورنمنٹ نے پادری صاحبوں کو ہندوستان میں مقرر کیا ہے۔ گورنمنٹ سے پادری صاحب تنخواہ پاتے ہیں گورنمنٹ اور حکام انگریزی ولایت زا جو اس ملک میں نوکر ہیں وہ پادری صاحبوں کو بہت سا روپیہ واسطے خرچ کے اور کتابیں بانٹنے کو دیتے ہیں اور ہر طرح ان کے مددگار اور معاون ہیں۔

حکام متعہد کا مشنری طریقہ برتنا

The Covenanted Officers assumed the Missionary functions.

اکثر حکام متعہد اور افسران فوج نے اپنے تابعین سے مذہب کی گفتگو شروع کی تھی بعضے صاحب اپنے ملازمین کو حکم دیتے تھے کہ ہماری کوٹھی پر ان کو پادری صاحب کا وعظ سنو اور ایسا ہی ہوتا تھا غرض اس بات نے ایسی ترقی پکڑی تھی کہ کوئی شخص یہ

نہیں جانتا تھا کہ گورنمنٹ کی عملداری میں ہمارا یا ہماری اولاد کا مذہب قائم رہے گا۔

پادری صاحبوں کا وعظ
Preaching of the Gospel by the Missionaries.

پادری صاحبوں کے وعظ نے نئی صورت نکالی تھی۔ تکرار مذہب کی کتابیں بطور سوال جواب چھپنی اور تقسیم ہونی شروع ہوئیں ان کتابوں میں دوسرے مذہب کے مقدس لوگوں کی نسبت الفاظ اور مضامین رنجدہ مندرج ہوئے۔ ہندوستان میں دستور وعظ اور کتھا کا یہ ہے کہ اپنے اپنے معبد یا مکان پر بیٹھ کر کہتے ہیں جس کا دل چاہے اور جس کو رغبت ہو وہاں جا کر سنے۔ پادری صاحبوں کا طریقہ اس کے برخلاف تھا، وہ خود غیر مذہب کے مجمع اور تیرت گاہ اور میلہ میں جا کر وعظ کہتے تھے اور کوئی شخص صرف حکام کے ڈر سے مانع نہ ہوتا تھا بعض ضلعوں میں یہ رواج نکلا کہ پادری صاحبوں کے ساتھ تھانے کا ایک چپڑاسی جانے لگا۔ پادری صاحب وعظ میں صرف انجیل مقدس ہی کے بیان پر اکتفا نہیں کرتے تھے بلکہ غیر مذہب کے مقدس لوگوں کو اور مقدس مقاموں کو بہت برائی سے اور ہتک سے یاد کرتے تھے جس سے سننے والوں کو نہایت رنج اور دلی تکلیف پہنچتی تھی اور ہمارے گورنمنٹ سے ناراضی کا بیج لوگوں کے دل میں بویا جاتا تھا۔

مشنری سکول
The establishment of Missionary schools and the Covenanted Officers attending examinations at them.

مشنری سکول بہت جاری ہوئے اور اس میں مذہبی تعلیم شروع ہوئی۔ سب لوگ کہتے تھے کہ سرکار کی طرف سے ہیں بعض اضلاع میں بہت بڑے بڑے عالی قدر حکام متعہد ان اسکولوں میں جاتے تھے اور لوگوں کو اس میں داخل اور شامل ہونے کی ترغیب دیتے تھے۔ امتحان مذہبی کتابوں میں لیا جاتا تھا اور طالب علموں سے جو لڑکے کم عمر ہوتے تھے، پوچھا جاتا کہ تمہارا خدا کون، تمہارا نجات دینے والا کون اور وہ عیسائی مذہب

کے موافق جواب دیتے تھے۔ اس پر ان کو انعام ملتا تھا۔ ان سب باتوں سے رعایا کا دل ہمارے گورنمنٹ سے پھرتا جاتا تھا۔

یہاں ایک بڑا اعتراض یہ پیدا ہوتا ہے کہ اگر لوگ اس تعلیم سے ناراض تھے تو اپنے لڑکوں کو کیوں داخل کرتے تھے۔ اس بات کو عدم ناراضی پر خیال کرنا نہیں چاہئے بلکہ یہ ایک بڑی دلیل ہے۔ ہندوستان کے کمال خراب حال اور مفلس اور نہایت تنگ اور تباہ حال ہو جانے پر یہ صرف ہندوستان کی محتاجی اور مفلسی کا باعث تھا کہ لوگ اس خیال سے کہ ان اسکولوں میں داخل ہو کر ہماری اولاد کو کچھ وجہ معیشت اور روزگار حاصل ہوگا ایسی سخت بات کو جس سے بلاشبہ ان کو دلی رنج اور روحانی غم تھا گوارا کرتے تھے، نہ رضامندی سے۔

دیہاتی مکاتیب
Village schools.

دیہاتی مکتبوں کے مقرر ہونے سے سب لوگ یقین سمجھتے تھے کہ صرف عیسائی بنانے کو یہ مکتب جاری ہوئے ہیں۔ پرگنہ وزیٹر اور ڈپٹی انسپکٹر جو ہر ہر گاؤں اور قصبہ میں لوگوں کو نصیحت کرتے پھرتے تھے کہ اپنے لڑکوں کو مکتبوں میں داخل کرو۔ ہر ہر گاؤں میں کالا پادری ان کا نام تھا جس گاؤں میں پرگنہ وزیٹر یا ڈپٹی انسپکٹر پہنچا اور گنواروں نے آپس میں چرچا کیا کہ کالا پادری آیا، عوام الناس یوں خیال کرتے تھے کہ یہ عیسائی مکتب ہیں اور کرسٹان بنانے کو بٹھاتے ہیں اور فہمیدہ آدمی اگرچہ یہ نہیں سمجھتے تھے مگر یوں جانتے تھے کہ ان مکاتیب میں صرف اردو کی تعلیم ہوتی ہے۔ ہمارے لڑکے اس میں پڑھ کر اپنے مذہب کے احکام اور مسائل اور اعتقادات اور رسمیات سے بالکل ناواقف ہو جائیں گے اور عیسائی بن جائیں گے اور یوں سمجھتے تھے کہ گورنمنٹ کا یہی ارادہ ہے کہ ہندوستان کے مذہبی علوم کو معدوم کر دے تاکہ آئندہ کو عیسائی مذہب پھیل جائے۔ اکثر اضلاع

شرقی ہندوستان میں ان مکتبوں کا جاری ہونا اور لڑکوں کا داخل ہونا صاف کھلا ہوا اور کہہ دیا کہ گورنمنٹ کا حکم ہے کہ لڑکوں کو داخل کیا جائے۔

لڑکیوں کے سکول کا اجرا
The introduction of female education.

لڑکیوں کی تعلیم کا بہت چرچا ہندوستان میں تھا اور سب یقین جانتے تھے کہ سرکار کا مطلب یہ ہے کہ لڑکیاں اسکولوں میں آئیں اور تعلیم پائیں اور بے پردہ ہو جائیں کہ یہ بات حد سے زیادہ ہندوستانیوں کو ناگوار تھی بعض بعض اضلاع میں اس کا نمونہ قائم ہو گیا تھا۔ پرگنہ وزیٹر اور ڈپٹی انسپکٹر یہ سمجھتے تھے کہ اگر ہم سعی کر کر لڑکیوں کے مکتب قائم کر دیں گے تو ہماری بڑی نیک نامی گورنمنٹ میں ہوگی۔ اس سبب سے وہ ہر طرح پر بطریق جائز و ناجائز لوگوں کو واسطے قائم کرنے لڑکیوں کے مکتبوں کے فہمائش کرتے تھے اور اس سبب سے زیادہ تر لوگوں کے دلوں کو ناراضی اور اپنے غلط خیالات کا ان کو یقین ہو تا جاتا تھا۔

بڑے کالجوں میں طریقہ تعلیم کا تبدیل
Alterations inthe usual system of education in large colleges.

بڑے بڑے کالج جو شہروں میں مقرر تھے، اول اول گو ان سے بھی کچھ کچھ وحشت لوگوں کو ہوئی تھی۔ اس زمانہ میں شاہ عبدالعزیز جو تمام ہندوستان میں نہایت نامی مولوی تھے، زندہ تھے۔ مسلمانوں نے ان سے فتویٰ پوچھا انہوں نے صاف جواب دیا کہ کالج انگریزی میں جانا اور پڑھنا اور انگریزی زبان کا سیکھنا بموجب مذہب کے سب درست ہے اس پر سینکڑوں مسلمان کالجوں میں داخل ہوئے مگر اس زمانہ میں کالجوں کا حال ایسا نہ تھا بلکہ ان میں تعلیم کا سررشتہ بہت اچھا تھا۔ ہر قسم کے علوم فارسی اور عربی اور سنسکرت اور انگریزی پڑھائے جاتے تھے۔ فقہ اور حدیث اور علم ادب پڑھانے کی اجازت تھی۔ فقہ میں امتحان ہوتا تھا، سندیں ملتی تھیں۔ کسی طرح کی ترغیب مذہبی نہ تھی۔ مدرس بہت ذی عزت اور معتبر اور مشہور اور ذی علم اور پرہیز

گار مقرر ہوتے تھے مگر آخر کو یہ بات نہ رہی قدر عربی کی بہت کم ہو گئی اور فقہ و حدیث کی تعلیم یکسر جاتی رہی۔ فارسی بھی چنداں قابل لحاظ نہ رہی۔ تعلیم کی صورت اور کتابوں کے رواج نے بالکلیہ یہ تغیر پکڑی اردو اور انگریزی کا رواج بہت زیادہ ہوا جس کے سبب وہی شبہ کہ گورنمنٹ کو ہندوستان کے مذہبی علوم کا معدوم کرنا منظور ہے، قائم ہو گیا۔ مدرس لوگ معتبر اور ذی علم نہ رہے وہی مدرسہ کے طالب علم کہ جنہوں نے ابھی تک لوگوں کی آنکھوں میں اعتبار پیدا نہ کیا تھا، مدرس ہونے لگے اس لئے ان مدرسوں کا بھی وہی حال ہو گیا۔

گورنمنٹ کا اشتہار دربابِ استحقاق نوکری

The issue of government Proclamation ont he subject of admitting Government college English students to appointments in prefernce to other candidates.

ادھر تو دیہاتی مکاتیب اور کالجوں کا یہ حال تھا کہ ان پر سب کو شبہ رواج دینے مذہب عیسائی کا ہو رہا تھا کہ دفعتاً پیش گاہ گورنمنٹ سے اشتہار جاری ہوا کہ جو شخص مدرسہ کا تعلیم یافتہ ہو گا اور فلاں فلاں علوم اور زبان انگریزی میں امتحان دے کر سند یافتہ ہو گا وہ نوکری میں سب سے مقدم سمجھا جائے گا۔ چھوٹی چھوٹی نوکریاں بھی ڈپٹی انسپکٹروں کے سرٹیفکیٹ پر جن کو ابھی تک سب لوگ کالا پادری سمجھتے جاتے تھے، منحصر ہو گئیں اور ان غلط خیالات کے سبب لوگوں کے دل پر ایک غم کا بوجھ پڑ گیا اور سب کے دل میں ہماری گورنمنٹ سے ناراضی پیدا ہو گئی اور لوگ یہ سمجھے کہ ہندوستان کو ہر طرح بے معاش اور محتاج کیا جاتا ہے کہ تا مجبور ہو کر رفتہ رفتہ ان لوگوں کی مذہبی باتوں میں تغیر و تبدیل ہو جائے۔

جیل خانوں میں اختلاط اکل و شرب

Introduction of the messing system in the Jails.

اسی زمانہ میں بعض اضلاع میں تجویز ہوئی کہ قیدی جیل خانوں میں ایک شخص کے ہاتھ کا پکا ہوا کھائیں جس سے ہندوؤں کا مذہب بالکل جاتا رہتا تھا، مسلمانوں کے مذہب میں اگرچہ کچھ نقصان نہیں آتا تھا مگر اس کا رنج سب کے دل پر تھا کہ سرکار ہر

ایک کا مذہب لینے پر آمادہ اور ہر طرح پر اس کی تدبیر میں ہے۔

پادری صاحبان ای ایڈمنڈ کی چٹھیات کا اجرا

The circulationof Mr E. Edmond's letters from Calcutta.

یہ سب خرابیاں لوگوں کے دلوں میں ہو رہی تھیں کہ دفعتاً سنہ ۱۸۵۵ء میں پادری صاحبان ای ایڈمنڈ نے دارالامارہ کلکتہ سے عموماً اور خصوصاً سرکاری معزز نوکروں کے پاس چٹھیاں بھیجیں جن کا مطلب یہ تھا کہ اب تمام ہندوستان میں ایک عملداری ہو گئی۔ تار برقی سے سب جگہ کی خبر ایک ہو گئی، ریلوے، سڑک سے سب جگہ کی آمدورفت ایک ہو گئی۔ مذہب بھی ایک چاہئے اس لئے مناسب ہے کہ تم لوگ بھی عیسائی ایک مذہب ہو جاؤ میں سچ کہتا ہوں کہ ان چٹھیات کے آنے کے بعد خوف کے مارے سب کی آنکھوں میں اندھیرا آگیا، پاؤں تلے کی مٹی نکل گئی سب کو یقین ہو گیا کہ ہندوستانی جس وقت کے منتظر تھے وہ وقت اب آگیا۔ اب جتنے سرکاری نوکر ہیں اول ان کو کرشان ہونا پڑے گا اور پھر تمام رعیت کو سب لوگ بیشک سمجھتے تھے کہ یہ چٹھیات گورنمنٹ کے حکم سے آئیں ہیں، آپس میں ہندوستان لوگ اہلکاران سرکاری سے پوچھتے تھے کہ تمہارے پاس بھی چٹھی آئی! اس کا مطلب یہ ہوتا تھا کہ تم بھی بسبب لالچ نوکری کے کرشان ہو گے۔

ان چٹھیوں نے یہاں تک ہندوستانی اہلکاروں کو الزام لگایا کہ جن کے پاس چٹھیاں آئی تھیں وہ مارے شرمندگی اور بدنامی کے چھپاتے تھے اور انکار کرتے تھے کہ ہمارے پاس تو نہیں آئی۔ لوگ جواب دیتے تھے کہ اب آجائیں گی۔ کیا تم سرکار کے نوکر نہیں ہو اگر سچ پوچھو تو یہ چٹھیاں تمام ہندوستانیوں کے غلط شبہات کو پکا اور مستحکم کرنے والی تھیں۔ چنانچہ انہوں نے کر دیا اور اس کے مٹانے کو کوئی تدبیر کارگر نہ ہوئی۔

کچھ عجب نہ تھا کہ اسی زمانہ میں کچھ برہمی اور تھوڑا بہت

فساد ملک میں شروع ہو جاتا چنانچہ اس وقت کے حالات سے ظاہر ہوتا ہے مگر جناب معلی القاب نواب لیفٹیننٹ گورنر بہادر بنگال نے بہت جلد خبر لی اور ایک اشتہار جاری کیا جس سے فی الجملہ لوگوں کے دلوں میں تسلی ہوئی اور وہ اضطرار جو ہو گیا تھا دھیما ہوا مگر جیسا کہ چاہئے ویسا قلع اور قمع اس کا نہ ہوا۔ لوگ سمجھے کہ بالفعل یہ بات موقوف ہو گئی۔ پھر کبھی قابو کے وقت پر جاری ہو گی۔ پادری صاحبان ای ایڈمنڈ کی چٹھی اور نواب معلی القاب لیفٹیننٹ گورنر بہادر بنگال کا اشتہار آخر کتاب میں مندرج ہے، وہاں دیکھو۔

مسلمانوں کو مداخلت امور مذہبی سے زیادہ رنج ہوتا اور اس کا سبب

The interference in religious matter more repugnant to the feelings of the Mahomedans, and its causes.

ان سب باتوں سے مسلمان بہ نسبت ہنود کے بہت زیادہ ناراض تھے۔ اس کا سبب یہ ہے کہ ہندو اپنے مذہب کے احکام بطور رسم و رواج کے ادا کرتے ہیں نہ بطور احکام مذہب کے ان کو اپنے مذہب کے احکام اور عقائد اور وہ دلی اور اعتقادی باتیں جن پر نجات عاقبت کی موافق ان کے مذہب کے منحصر ہے، مطلق معلوم نہیں ہیں اور نہ ان کے برتاؤ میں ہیں۔ اس سبب سے وہ اپنے مذہب میں نہایت سست اور بجز ان رسمی باتوں کے اور کھانے پینے کے پرہیز کے اور کسی مذہبی عقیدہ میں پختہ اور متعصب نہیں ہیں۔ ان کے سامنے ان کے اس عقیدہ کے جس کا دل میں اعتقاد چاہئے، برخلاف باتیں ہوا کریں ان کو کچھ غصہ یا رنج نہیں آتا۔ برخلاف مسلمانوں کے وہ اپنے مذہب کے عقائد بموجب جو باتیں کہ ان کے مذہب میں نجات دینے والی اور عذاب میں ڈالنے والی ہیں، بخوبی جانتے ہیں اور ان احکام کو مذہبی احکام اور خدا کی طرف کے احکام سمجھ کر کرتے ہیں۔ اس سبب سے اپنے مذہب میں پختہ اور متعصب ہیں۔ ان وجوہات سے مسلمان زیادہ تر ناراض تھے اور ہندوؤں کی بہ نسبت زیادہ تر فساد میں ان کا شریک ہونا قرین قیاس تھا چنانچہ یہی ہوا بلاشبہ جتنی گورنمنٹ کی

مداخلت کسی مذہب میں خلاف قواعد ملک داری ہے ویسا ہی کسی مذہب کی تعلیم کو روکنا علی الخصوص اس مذہب کے جس کو وہ حق سمجھتے ہیں، برخلاف اور بے جا ہے مگر ہمارا مطلب صرف اتنا ہے کہ باوجودیکہ ہماری گورنمنٹ ایسی ہی ہے مگر کام اس طرح پر ہوئے کہ رعایا کا یہ غلط شبہ رفع نہ ہوا۔

اصل دوم

جاری ہونا ایسے آئین اور ضوابط اور طریقہ حکومت کا جو ہندوستان کی حکومت اور ہندوستانیوں کی عادات کے مناسب نہ تھے

دوم اجرائے ضوابط آئین نامناسب

Secondly--The promulgation of objectionable laws and procedures.

لیجس لیٹف کونسل سے بھی امور مذہبی میں مداخلت ہوئی۔

ایکٹ ۲۱ سنہ ۱۸۵۰ء

Act 21 of 1850.

ایکٹ ۲۱ سنہ ۱۸۵۰ء صاف مذہبی قواعد پر خلل انداز تھا۔ پھر اس ایکٹ سے ایک یہ بدگمانی لوگوں کو تھی کہ یہ ایکٹ خاص واسطے ترغیب عیسائی مذہب قبول کرنے کے جاری ہوا ہے کیونکہ یہ بات ظاہر تھی کہ غیرمذہب کا کوئی آدمی ہندوؤں میں شامل نہیں ہو سکتا پس ہندو تو اس قانون کے مفاد سے محروم تھے۔ غیرمذہب کا آدمی اگر مسلمان ہو جائے تو اس کو اپنے مذہب کی رو سے جو اس نے اختیار کیا ہے، اپنے مورثوں کا متروکہ جو غیرمذہب میں تھے، لینا منع ہے پس کوئی نومسلم بھی اس ایکٹ سے فایدہ نہیں اٹھا سکتا تھا البتہ عیسائی مذہب جس نے قبول کیا ہے، وہ فایدہ مند ہو سکتا تھا۔ اس سبب سے لوگ خیال کرتے تھے کہ علاوہ مداخلت مذہبی کے اس ایکٹ سے صاف ترغیب ہے۔

ایکٹ ۱۵ سنہ ۱۸۵۶ء

Act 15 of 1856.

ایکٹ ۱۵ سنہ ۱۸۵۶ء درباب بیوہ ہنود کے رسوم مذہبی میں

خلل ڈالتا تھا گو اس میں بڑی بڑی بحثیں ہوئیں اور پیوستہ بھی لئے گئے مگر ہندو لوگ جو مذہب سے زیادہ پابند رسم و رواج کے ہیں، اس ایکٹ کو نہایت ناپسند کرتے تھے بلکہ باعث اپنی ہتک عزت اور بربادی خاندان کا جانتے تھے اور یوں بدگمانی کرتے تھے کہ یہ ایکٹ اس مراد سے جاری ہوا ہے کہ ہندو کی بیوئیں خود مختار ہو جائیں اور جو چاہیں سو کرنے لگیں۔

عورتوں کی فعل مختاری

Giving liberty to females.

ضابطہ عورتوں کی فعل مختاری کا جو فوجداری عدالتوں میں جاری تھا، کس قدر ہندوستانیوں کی عزت اور آبرو اور رسم و رواج میں نقصان پہنچاتا تھا۔ منکوحہ عورتیں تک فوجداری سے فعل مختار ہو گئیں۔ ولیوں کی ولایت عورات پر سے اٹھ گئی اور یہ باتیں صریح مذہب میں نقصان پہنچاتی تھیں۔ دیوانی عدالت پر جو اس کا تدارک حوالہ کیا گیا تھا بلاشبہ ناکافی اور بے فایدہ تھا اور جس بات کا فی الفور تدارک ہونا از روئے مذہب اور رسم و رواج کے چاہئے تھا وہ ایسی تاخیر اور جھمیلے میں ڈالا گیا تھا کہ زیادہ تر فساد اس سے برپا ہوتا تھا۔ دیوانی کی ڈگریات بابت دلا پانے زوجہ کے بہت ہی کم تعمیل ہوئی ہوں گی۔ اکثر مقدمات ایسے نکلیں گے کہ عورت نے غاصب کے گھر دو دو تین تین بچے بھی جن لئے اور ہنوز مدعی اس یک نشاندہی کی تدبیر میں سرگرداں ہے۔

بعض قوانین خلاف مذہب باوصف متحد المذہب ہونے متخاصمین کے

The promulgation of certain acts in cases wherein the parties are of one religion.

چند ایکٹ اور قانون ایسے ہیں کہ جن کی رو سے باوصف متحد المذہب ہونے متخاصمین کے برخلاف ان کے مذہب کے مقدمات دیوانی عدالت سے فیصل ہوتے تھے۔ ہمارا یہ مطلب نہیں ہے کہ ہمارے گورنمنٹ کسی مذہب کی طرف داری کرے۔ مختلف مذہب ہونے کی صورت میں بلاشبہ انصاف کا لحاظ چاہئے بشرطیکہ وہ انصاف دونوں مذہبوں کے یا دونوں اہل مقدمہ کے معاہدہ کے برخلاف نہ ہو الا جب طرفین متحد المذہب ہیں تو

ضرور ہے کہ انہی کے مذہب یا انہی کے رسم و رواج کے مطابق مقدمات حقوق متعلقہ دیوانی کے فیصل ہوں۔

ضبطی اراضی لاخراج
The resumptionof Mooafees.

قوانین ضبطی اراضیات لاخراج جس کا آخر قانون ۲ سنہ ۱۸۱۹ء ہے حکومت ہندوستان کو نہایت مضر تھا، ضبطی اراضیات نے جس قدر رعایا ہندوستان کو ناراض اور بدخواہ ہمارے گورنمنٹ کا کردیا تھا اس سے زیادہ اور کسی چیز نے نہیں کیا تھا۔

لارڈ منرو اور ڈیوک آف ولنگٹن صاحب کا قول
Ther result of extinguishing the native states according to Sir Thomas Munro "In place of raising to debase the whole people."
And according to The Duke of Wellington "To degrade and beggar the nativen making them all enemies."

سچ فرمایا تھا لارڈ منرو اور ڈیوک آف ولنگٹن صاحب بہادر نے کہ ضبط کرنا معافیات کا ہندوستانیوں سے دشمنی پیدا کرنی اور ان کو محتاج کر دینا ہے۔ میں بیان نہیں کر سکتا کہ ہندوستانیوں کو کس قدر ناراضی اور دلی رنج اور ہمارے گورنمنٹ کی بدخواہی اور نیز کتنی مصیبت اور تنگی معاش اس سبب سے ان کو تھی، بہت سی معافیات صدہا سال سے چلی آتی تھیں اور ادنیٰ ادنیٰ حیلہ پر ضبط ہوگئیں۔ ہندوستانی صاف خیال کرتے تھے کہ سرکار نے خود تو ہماری پرورش نہیں کی بلکہ جو جاگیر ہم کو اور ہمارے بزرگوں کو اگلے بادشاہوں نے دی تھیں وہ بھی گورنمنٹ نے چھین لیں پھر تو ہم کو اور کیا توقع گورنمنٹ سے ہے۔ ضبطی اراضیات کے باب میں اگر ہمارے گورنمنٹ کی طرف سے یہ عذر صحیح اور واقعی یہی سمجھا جائے کہ اگر ضبطی اراضیات لاخراجی نہ ہوتی تو واسطے پورا کرنے اخراجات گورنمنٹ کے جس کو نہایت کفایت شعاری سے مان لینا چاہئے۔ ہندوستانی آدمیوں سے اور کسی محصول کے لینے کی تدبیر کرنی پڑتی مگر رعایا کو اس سے کسی طرح پر تسلی اور جو مصیبت کہ ان پر پڑی اس کا دفعیہ نہیں ہو سکتا۔ دیکھو اس زمانہ میں جہاں جہاں باغیوں نے اشتہارات واسطے بہکانے اور ورغلانے رعایا کے جاری کئے ہیں، سب میں بجز دو باتوں کے یعنی مداخلت مذہبی اور ضبطی معافیات کے اور کسی چیز کا ذکر نہیں ہے۔

اس سے بخوبی ثابت ہے کہ یہ دونوں باتیں اصلی منشا اور بہت بڑا سبب ناراضی اہل ہند کا تھا۔ علی الخصوص مسلمانوں کا جن کو یہ نقصان بہت زیادہ بہ نسبت ہندوؤں کے پہنچا تھا۔

نیلام زمینداری

The public sales of Zemindaree Rights.

اگلی عملداریوں میں بلاشبہ حقیت زمینداری کی خانگی بیع اور رہن اور ہبہ کا دستور تھا مگر یہ بہت کم ہوتا تھا اور جہاں تک ہوتا تھا برضامندی اور بخوشی ہوتا تھا۔ بعلت باقی یا بعلت قرضہ جبرا اور حکما نیلام حقیت کا کبھی دستور نہیں ہوا۔ ہندوستان میں زمیندار اپنی موروثی زمینداری کو بہت عزیز سمجھتے ہیں۔ اس کے زوال سے ان کو کمال رنج ہوتا ہے۔ اگر خیال کیا جائے تو ہندوستان میں ہر ایک محال زمینداری کا ایک چھوٹی سی سلطنت دکھائی دیتی ہے۔ قدیم سے سب کی رضامندی سے ایک شخص سردار ہوتا ہے وہ ایک بات تجویز کرتا تھا اور ہر ایک حقیت دار کو بقدر اپنے حصہ زمینداری کے بولنے کا اور دخل دینے کا اختیار ہوتا تھا۔ رعیت باشندہ دیہہ کے چودھری بھی حاضر ہو کر کچھ کچھ گفتگو کرتے تھے۔ اگر کسی مقدمہ نے زیادہ طول پکڑا تو کسی بڑے گاؤں کے مقدم اور سردار کے حکم سے فیصلہ ہو گیا۔ ہندوستان کے ہر ایک گاؤں میں بہت خاصی صورت ایک چھوٹی سلطنت اور پارلیمنٹ کی موجود تھی۔ بے شک بادشاہ کو جس قدر اپنی سلطنت جانے کا رنج ہوتا تھا، اتنا ہی زمیندار کو اپنی زمینداری جانے کا غم تھا۔ ہمارے گورنمنٹ نے اس کا مطلق خیال نہ کیا ابتدائے عملداری سے آج تک شاید کوئی گاؤں باقی ہو گا جس میں تھوڑا بہت نہ انتقال ہوا ہو۔ ابتدا ابتدا میں ان نیلاموں نے ایسی بے ترتیبی سے کثرت پکڑی کہ تمام ملک الٹ پلٹ ہو گیا۔ پھر ہمارے گورنمنٹ نے اس کے تدارک کو قانون اول سنہ ۱۸۲۱ء جاری کیا اور ایک کمیشن مقرر ہوا۔ اس سے اور قسم کی صدہا خرابیاں

برپا ہو گئیں۔ یہاں تک کہ یہ کام حسب دل خواہ انجام نہ ہو سکا اور آخر کار یہ محکمہ بند ہو گیا۔

اس مقام پر ہم یہ گفتگو کرنی نہیں چاہتے کہ اگر سرکار وصول مال گزاری کا یہ قاعدہ مقرر نہ کرتی تو پھر کیا کرتی اور جبکہ زمین مال گزاری سرکار میں مستغرق اور اس کی ذمہ داری سمجھی جاتی ہے کیوں نہیں نیلام ہوتی کیونکہ ہم اس مقام پر صرف یہ بات بیان کرتے ہیں کہ سرکشی کے یہ اسباب ہوئے خواہ ان سببوں کا ہونا مجبوری ہوا۔ خواہ ناواقفی سے اور اگر اس امر کی بحث دیکھنی ہو تو ہماری دوسری رائے طریقہ انتظام ہندوستان میں ہے۔ اس کو دیکھو مگر اتنی بات یہاں لکھ دیتے ہیں کہ زمین کا مال گزاری میں مستغرق سمجھنا بہت قابل مباحثہ کے ہے۔ درحقیقت دعوئی سرکار کا پیداوار پر ہے نہ زمین پر۔

بعوض زر قرضہ نیلام حقیت کے رواج نے بہت سے فساد برپا کیے۔ مہاجنوں اور روپیہ والوں نے دم دے کر زمینداروں کو روپیہ دیئے اور قصداً ان کی زمینداری چھیننے کو بہت فریب برپا کیے اور دیوانی میں ہر قسم کے جھوٹے سچے مقدمات لگائے اور قدیم زمینداروں کو بے دخل کیا اور خود مالک بن گئے۔ ان آفات نے تمام ملک کے زمینداروں کو ہلا ڈالا۔

سختی بندوبست

Heavy assessments of land.

بندوبست مال گزاری جو ہمارے گورنمنٹ نے کیا نہایت قابل تعریف کے ہے مگر اگلے بندوبستوں کی نسبت سنگین ہے۔ اگلی عملداریوں میں بطور خام تحصیل مال گزاری لی جاتی تھی۔ شیر شاہ نے ایک تہائی پیداوار کا حصہ گورنمنٹ مقرر کیا تھا۔ کچھ شک نہیں کہ اس طریقہ میں بہت مشکلیں تھیں اور گورنمنٹ کو نقصان بھی متصور تھا مگر کاشتکار سب آباد رہتے تھے۔ کسی کو ٹوٹا دینا نہ پڑتا تھا۔ اکبر اول نے اسی بندوبست کو یعنی پیداوار کا تہائی

حصہ لینا پسند کیا اور اسی کو جاری کیا مگر بندوبست پختہ کر دیا جس کا ذکر لارڈ الفنسٹن صاحب کی عمدہ تاریخ میں مندرج ہے اور آئین اکبری میں بھی اس کا بیان ہے۔ اکبر نے اقسام زمین کے مقرر کئے اول قسم کی زمین سے جس کا نام پولچ تھا اور ہر سال بوئی جاتی تھی، برابر مال گزاری کا حصہ لیا جاتا تھا۔ دوم قسم کی زمین جس کا نام پروتی تھا اور ہمیشہ کاشت نہ ہوتی تھی بلکہ چندے واسطے زور بڑھانے کے چھوڑ دیتے تھے۔ اس زمین سے انہیں سالوں کی بابت مال گزاری لی جاتی تھی۔ جس میں وہ کاشت ہوتی تھی۔ سوم قسم زمین کی جس کا نام چچر تھا اور تین چار برس سے بے تردد تھی اور اس کی درستی کے لئے خرچ بھی درکار ہوتا تھا، اول سال زراعت میں پچدو لیا جاتا تھا اور پھر بڑھتا جاتا تھا یہاں تک کہ پانچویں میں پورا ہوتا تھا۔ چہارم قسم زمین جس کا نام بنجر تھا اور پانچ برس سے زیادہ بے تردد پڑی تھی اور بھی ملائم شرطیں تھیں۔ اس خام بندوبست کا نقدی سے بدلنا اس طرح پر تھا کہ پیداوار ہر بیگہ کی اور ہر قسم زمین کی اوسط کے حساب سے غلہ کے وزن پر نکالی جاتی تھی۔ مثلاً بیگہ پیچھے نو من غلہ کی اوسط پیداوار نکالی اور تین من غلہ اس بیگہ کا کاشتکار سے لینا حصہ گورنمنٹ ٹھہر گیا۔ پھر اوسط نرخ ناموں سے قیمت غلہ قرار دی گئی اور وہ نقدی اس بیگہ کی ٹھہر گئی۔ پھر اس میں بڑی رفاہ یہ تھی کہ اگر کاشتکار بعوض نقدی گرانی نرخ سمجھ کر تین من غلہ دے دے تو اس کو اختیار تھا۔ سرکاری بندوبست میں ان میں سے بہت باتوں کا خیال نہیں رہا۔ افتادہ زمین پر برابر محصول لگ گیا جن زمینوں کا زور بڑھانے کو کچھ دنوں افتادہ رکھنا تھا اس کی منہائی نہیں ہوئی۔ ہر سال برابر جوتے جانے سے زور کم ہوتا گیا، پیداوار کم ہونے لگی جو حساب کہ بندوبست کے وقت لگایا تھا وہ نہ رہا۔ اکثر

اضلاع میں ہر ایک بندوبست سخت ہو گیا۔ زمینداروں کاشتکاروں کو نقصان عائد ہوئے۔ رفتہ رفتہ وہ بے سامان ہو گئے۔ زراعت کا سامان بہت کم ہو گیا اور اس سبب سے جو زمین کاشت کرتے تھے وہ جیسا کہ چاہئے کمائی نہ گئی۔ اس سبب سے بھی کمی پیداوار ہوئی ادائے مال گزاری کے لئے وہ قرض دار ہوئے۔ سود قرضہ زیادہ ہونے لگا۔ بہت سے زمیندار مال گزار جو بہت اچھا سامان اور معقول خرچ رکھتے تھے، مفلس ہو گئے۔ جن دیہات میں افتادہ زمین سوا تھی وہ اور زیادہ خراب ہو گئی۔ انزبل ٹامسن صاحب بہادر اپنے ہدایت نامہ کی دفعہ ۶۴ میں لکھتے ہیں کہ آئین نہم سنہ ۱۸۳۳ء کے بندوبست میں علی العموم یہ بات نظر آتی ہے کہ اچھے دیہات کی جمع کچھ نرم تجویز ہوئی اور خراب دیہات کی جمع سنگین ہو گئی۔ زمینداروں کی ناجائز منفعتیں جاتی رہیں۔ اگرچہ یہ بات بہت اچھی تھی مگر بندوبست کے وقت اس کی رعایت چاہئے تھی جو نہ ہوئی غرضیکہ ان اسباب سے زمینداروں اور کاشتکاروں کو مفلسی نے گھیر لیا تھا جس کے سبب باوجود اس امن اور آسائش کے جو زمینداروں کو تھی، ان کے دل سے پچھلی عملداریوں کی یاد بھولتی نہ تھی۔

تعلقہ داریوں کا شکست علی الخصوص اودھ میں

The abolition of Talookdaree rights, particularly in the Oudo provinces.

تعلقہ داری بندوبست کا شکست کر دینا اگرچہ ہم یہ نہیں کہتے کہ اس میں کچھ ناانصافی ہوئی۔ عمدہ سبب فساد کا ہوا خصوصاً ملک اودھ میں یہ تعلقہ دار راجہ بنے ہوئے تھے۔ اپنی تعلقہ داری کے دیہات میں حکومتیں کرتے تھے، نفع اٹھاتے تھے۔ وہ بادشاہت اور منفعت ان کی دفعتاً جاتی رہی۔ اسباب میں بھی کہ اگر سرکار یہ نہ کرتی تو اصل زمینداروں کو ان ظالموں کے ہاتھ سے کیونکر نکالتی۔ اس مقام پر بحث نہیں کرنے کے بلکہ اس کی بحث ہماری دوسری رائے میں ہے۔ یہاں صرف یہ بیان کرنا ہے

کہ شکست تعلقہ داری بھی سبب سرکشی ہے۔

اسٹامپ
The introduction of stamp paper.

اسٹامپ کا جاری ہونا بالکل ایک ولائتی پیداوار ملک کا قاعدہ ہے۔ جہاں زمین کی آمدنی گویا کہ نہیں لی جاتی۔ ہندوستان میں اس کا جاری کرنا اور پھر رفتہ رفتہ اس کی قیمت میں اضافہ ہوتا جانا جس کی انتہا اب قانون دہم سنہ ۱۸۲۹ء میں ہے۔ بلاشبہ خلاف طبائع اہل ہند بلکہ بنظر حالات مفلسی اہل ہند نامناسب تھا۔ اسٹامپ کے جاری ہونے میں پچھلے لوگ بہت بحث کر گئے ہیں اور بہت سی دلیلیں پیش ہوئی ہیں کہ اس کا اجرا مفید ہے اور بہت غالب تر دلیلیں پیش ہوئی ہیں کہ اصلی بات برخلاف اس کے ہے مگر ہم اس مقام پر ان سب بحثوں سے قطع نظر کرتے ہیں اور اتنا لکھنا کافی سمجھتے ہیں کہ ان بحثوں کی حاجت ان ملکوں میں ہے جہاں کی رعایا تربیت یافتہ اور متمول اور راست باز معاملہ فہم ہے۔ ہندوستان کی رعایا جو دن بدن مفلس ہوتی جاتی ہے وہ ہرگز اس زیرباری اٹھانے کے لائق نہیں۔ سب عقلا اس محصول کو ناپسند کر گئے ہیں۔ ان کا قول ہے کہ دستاویزات پر محصول لگانا جتنا قابل الزام اور بے وجہ محض ہے اس سے زیادہ برا وہ محصول ہے جو کاغذات پر انصاف کرنے کے لئے لیا جاتا ہے۔ علاوہ زیرباری اخراجات کی بہت سی صورتوں میں عدالت گستری سے باز رکھتا ہے چنانچہ مل صاحب کی کتاب پولٹیکل اکانومی اور لارڈ بروم صاحب کی پولٹیکل فلوزوفی اس کی ناپسندیدہ ہونے سے پُر ہیں اور جس قدر کہ ولایت میں اس پر عذر ہے' اس سے بہت زیادہ ہندوستان میں اس کے رواج پر الزام ہے۔

دیوانی عدالت کا انتظام پنجاب سے اچھا ہے مگر اصلاح طلب ہے

دیوانی عدالت کا انتظام جو پریذیڈنسی بنگال اور آگرہ میں ہے' وہ نہایت شائستہ ہے۔ اس کو اس غدر میں کچھ مداخلت نہیں۔ میں جانتا ہوں کہ اکثر حکام کی رائے اس کے برخلاف ہوگی

Thirdly, --- The ignorance of government of the state of the country, and their subjects.

اور اطلاع ہونے کا کیا سبب تھا کیونکہ حالات اور اطوار کی اطلاع اختلاط اور ارتباط اور باہم آمدورفت بے تکلفانہ سے ہوتی ہے اور یہ بات جب ہوتی ہے کہ ایک قوم دوسری قوم میں مل جل کر اور محبت اور اخلاص پیدا کر کر بطور ہم وطنوں کے توطن اختیار کرے جیسا کہ مسلمان غیرمذہب اور غیر ملک کے رہنے والوں نے ہندوستان میں توطن اختیار کر کے پیدا کیا اور غیر ملکیوں سے برادرانہ راہ و رسم پیدا کی مگر درحقیقت ہمارے گورنمنٹ کو یہ بات جو اصلی سبب رعایا کے حالات کی اطلاع کا ہے حاصل نہیں ہو سکتی اور نہ اس طرح کی سکونت مختلطانہ ہمارے گورنمنٹ کو ہونی متخیل ہے۔ اب رہی یہ بات کہ رعایا خود اپنے مصائب کی اطلاع کرتی تو اس کا قابو رعایا کو نہ تھا کیونکہ رعایا ہندوستان کو تجاویز گورنمنٹ میں ذرا بھی مداخلت نہ تھی اور اگر کسی نے کچھ بے قاعدہ کوئی عرضی پرچہ بھیجا یا بحضور نواب گورنر جنرل بہادر پیش کیا وہ بطور استغاثہ تصور کیا گیا نہ بطور استحقاق مداخلت تجاویز گورنمنٹ میں اور اسی لئے کچھ فائدہ حاصل نہ ہوا۔ اب ضرور ہوا کہ کوئی اور شخص حالات رعایا کی اطلاع گورنمنٹ میں کرے۔ وہ اطلاع منحصر تھی۔

حکام اضلاع حالات رعایا سے مطلق واقف نہ تھی

Local authorities generally unacquainted with the condition of their subjects.

حکام متعہد اضلاع کی رپورٹ پر وہ خود اس سے ناواقف تھے اور کوئی راہ نہ تھی ان کو اطلاع حاصل ہونے کو اور ان کی عدم توجہی اسباب میں اور ان کی نازک مزاجی ایک مشہور بات ہے۔ ان کے رعب سے سب ڈرتے تھے کسی کو سچی بات علی الخصوص وہ کہ جو مخالف طبع اور مزاج حاکموں کے ہوتی تھی، کہنے کا مقدور نہ تھا۔ ہر شخص ملازم اور درباری رئیس سب ڈر کے مارے خوشامد کی بات کہتے تھے اور ہمارے گورنمنٹ نے جو درحقیقت گورنمنٹ نوعیہ ہے، ان باتوں سے گورنمنٹ شخصیہ کی

مفلسی ہندوستان علی الخصوص مسلمانوں کی

Overwhelming poverty of the Indians particularly of the mahomedans.

صورت پیدا کی تھی۔ پھر یہ طریقہ اطلاع حالات رعایا کا بذریعہ حکام اضلاع ناکافی ہی نہ تھا بلکہ درحقیقت معلوم تھا اس لئے حالات رعایا کے ہمیشہ ہمارے گورنمنٹ سے مخفی رہے جو نیا قانون گورنمنٹ سے جاری ہوا اس سے جو مضرت رعایا کے حال اور رفاہ اور فلاح کو پہنچی اس کا رفع کرنے والا اور اس کی خبر دینے والا کوئی نہ تھا۔ اس قسم کے امور میں کوئی غم خوار رعایا کا نہ تھا بجز ان کے لہو کے جو جل جل کر ان کے بدن میں رہتا تھا اور بجز ان کی بے کسی کے جس پر وہ آپ رو رو کر چپ رہتے تھے۔

نوکریاں بہت قلیل تھیں، روزگار پیشہ جو قابلتا مسلمان تھے، بہت تنگ تھے

Scarity of employments, generally--, The mahommedans whose profession is commonly service were particularly impoverished.

مفلسی اور تنگی معاش ہندوستان کی رعایا کو ہمارے گورنمنٹ کی حکومت میں کیوں نہ ہوتی۔ سب سے بڑی معاش رعایا ہندوستان کی نوکری تھی اور یہ ایک پیشہ گنا جاتا تھا اگرچہ ہر ایک قوم کے لوگ روزگار نہ ہونے کے شاکی تھے مگر یہ شکایت سب سے زیادہ مسلمانوں کو تھی، غور کرنا چاہئے کہ ہندو جو اصلی باشندہ اس ملک کے ہیں زمانہ سلف میں ان میں سے کوئی شخص روزگار پیشہ نہ تھا بلکہ سب لوگ ملکی کاروبار میں مصروف تھے۔ برہمن کو روزگار سے کچھ علاقہ نہ تھا۔ بیس برن جو کہلاتے ہیں، وہ ہمیشہ بیوپار اور مہاجنی میں مصروف تھے۔ چھتری جو اس ملک کے کسی زمانہ میں حاکم بھی تھے۔ پرانی تاریخوں سے ثابت ہے کہ وہ بھی روزگار پیشہ نہ تھے بلکہ زمین سے اور ایک ایک ٹکڑا زمین کی حکومت سے بطور بہیا چارہ علاقہ رکھتے تھے۔ سپاہ ان کی ملازم نہ تھی بلکہ بطور بھائی بندی کے وقت پر جمع ہو کر لشکر آراستہ ہوتا تھا جیسا کہ کچھ تھوڑا سا نمونہ روس کی مملکت میں پایا جاتا ہے البتہ قوم کائیت اس ملک میں قدیم سے روزگار پیشہ دکھلائی دیتے ہیں۔ مسلمان اس ملک کے رہنے والے نہیں ہیں۔ اگلے بادشاہوں کے ساتھ بوسیلہ روزگار کے ہندوستان میں آئے اور یہاں توطن

اسی مفلسی کے سبب لوگوں کا ایک آنہ اور ڈیڑھ آنہ یومیہ یا سیر بھر اناج پر باغیوں کی نوکری اختیار کرنا

The same causes induced them to serve the rebels, onone anna, one and half anna, or I seer of flour per diem.

اختیار کیا اس لئے سب کے سب روزگار پیشہ تھے اور کمی روزگار
سے ان کو زیادہ تر شکایت بہ نسبت اصلی باشندوں اس ملک کے
تھی۔ عزت دار سپاہ کا روزگار جو یہاں کی جاہل رعایا کے مزاج
سے زیادہ تر مناسبت رکھتا ہے۔ ہمارے گورنمنٹ میں بہت کم
تھا۔ سرکاری فوج جو غالبا مرکب تھی، تلنگوں سے اس میں
اشراف لوگ نوکری کرنی معیوب سمجھتے تھے۔ تھے سواروں میں
البتہ اشرافوں کی نوکری باقی تھی مگر وہ تعداد میں اس قدر قلیل
تھی کہ اگلی سپاہ سوار سے اس کو کچھ بھی نسبت نہ تھی۔ علاوہ
سرکاری نوکری کے اگلے عہد کے صوبہ داروں اور سرداروں
اور امیروں کے بیچ کے نوکر ہوتے تھے کہ ان کی تعداد بھی کچھ کم
خیال کرنی نہیں چاہیے۔ اب یہ بات ہمارے گورنمنٹ میں نہیں
ہے اس سبب سے رعایا کو حد سے زیادہ قلت روزگار تھی اس کا
نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ جب باغیوں نے لوگوں کو نوکر رکھنا چاہا، ہزارہا آدمی
نوکری کو جمع ہو گئے اور جیسے بھوکا آدمی قحط کے دنوں اناج پر گرتا
ہے اسی طرح یہ لوگ نوکریوں پر جاگرے (شعر)

شکم گرسنہ در خانہ خالی برخواں   عقل باور نکند کز رمضاں اندیشد

بہت سے آدمی صرف آنہ ڈیڑھ آنہ یومیہ پر نوکر ہوئے تھے
اور بہت سے آدمی بغرض یومیہ کے سیر ڈیڑھ سیر اناج پاتے تھے۔
اس سے صاف ثابت ہوتا ہے کہ ہندوستان کی رعایا جیسی نوکری کی
خواہش مند تھی ویسی ہی مفلسی اور ناداری سے محتاج اور تنگ تھی۔

خیراتی پنشن اور انعام بند ہونے سے ہندوستان کا زیادہ محتاج ہونا

ایک اور راہ تھی اگلی عملداریوں میں آسودگی رعایا کی
یعنی جاگیر روزینہ انعام و اکرام جب شاہجہاں تخت پر بیٹھا تو صرف
بروز تخت نشینی چار لاکھ بیگہ زمین اور ایک سو بیس گاؤں جاگیر میں
اور لاکھوں روپیہ انعام میں دیئے۔ یہ بات ہمارے گورنمنٹ میں
یک قلم مسدود تھی بلکہ پہلی جاگیریں بھی ضبط ہو گئی تھیں۔ جس

ضبطی کے سبب ہزارہا آدمی نان شبینہ کو محتاج ہو گئے تھے۔ زمینداروں کاشتکاروں کی مفلسی کا حال ہم پہلے بیان کر چکے۔ اہل حرفہ کا روزگار بسبب جاری اور رائج ہونے اشیا تجارت ولایت کے بالکل جاتا رہا تھا۔ یہاں تک کہ ہندوستان میں کوئی سوئی بنانے والا اور دیا سلائی جلانے والے کو بھی نہیں پوچھتا تھا۔ جولاہوں کا تار تو بالکل ٹوٹ گیا تھا۔ جو بدذات سب سے زیادہ اس ہنگامہ میں گرمجوش تھے، خدا کے فضل سے جبکہ ہندوستان بھی سلطنت گریٹ برٹن میں داخل تھا تو سرکار کو رعایا کے اس تنگی حال پر توجہ کرنی اور ان کے ان روحانی غم اور دلی رنجشوں کے مٹانے میں سعی کرنی ضرور تھی۔

The stoppage of charitable pensions and stipends tending in a great measure to the poverty of the Indians.

کمپنی نزت سے ملک کی زیرباری

The investment of capital in Government loan.

کمپنی نزت سے ایک نئی طرح کی زیرباری ملک ہوئی تھی جو کسی پہلی عملداری میں اس کی نظیر نہیں ہے جتنا روپیہ قرض لیا جاتا تھا، اس کے سود کے وصول کرنے کی تدبیر بلکہ سود اور اخراجات اور انتفاع کے وصول کرنے کی تدبیر ملک سے ہوتی تھی غرضیکہ ہر طرح سے ملک مفلس اور محتاج ہو گیا۔ اگلے خاندان جن کو ہزاروں کا مقدور تھا، معاش سے بھی تنگ تھے اور یہ ایک اصلی سبب ناراضی رعایا کا گورنمنٹ سے تھا۔

صرف مفلسی کے سبب سے رعایا کا تبدل عملداری چاہنا

Poverty the cause of the subject's rejoicing at the idea of a change of Government, and wishing for it.

لوگوں کے دل جو تبدل عملداری کو چاہتے تھے اور نئی عملداری کے راغب اور دل سے اس سے خوش تھے، میں بہت سچ کہتا ہوں کہ اسی سبب سے تھے۔ ہم سچ کہتے ہیں اور پھر ہم کہتے ہیں کہ ہم بہت سچ کہتے ہیں جب افغانستان سرکار نے فتح کیا لوگوں کو بڑا غم ہوا کیا سبب تھا صرف یہ تھا کہ اب مذہب پر اعلانیہ دست اندازی ہوگی۔ جب گوالیار فتح ہوا، پنجاب فتح ہوا، اودھ لیا گیا، لوگوں کو کمال رنج ہوا۔ کیوں ہوا اس لئے ہوا کہ ان پاس کے ہندوستانی عملداریوں سے ہندوستانیوں کو بہت آسودگی تھی۔

نوکریاں اکثر ہاتھ آتی تھیں- ہر قسم کی ہندوستانی اشیا کی تجارت بکثرت تھی- ان عملداریوں کے خراب ہونے سے زیادہ افلاس اور محتاجی ہوتی جاتی تھی- ہمارے گورنمنٹ کی عملداری میں خوبیاں اور بھلائیاں بھی حد سے زیادہ تھیں- میں سب پر عیب نہیں لگاتا بقول شخصے (شعر)

عیب مے جملہ بگفتی ہنرش نیز بگو — نفی حکمت مکن از بہر دل عامے چند

امن اور آسائش اور آزادی رستوں کا صاف ہونا ڈاکوؤں، رہزنوں، ٹھگوں کا نیست و نابود ہونا، سڑکوں کا آراستہ ہونا، مسافروں کی آسائش، بیوپاریوں کا مال دور دور بھیجنا، غریب اعلیٰ ادنیٰ کے خطوط کا دور دوست ملکوں میں برابر پہنچنا، خونریزی اور خانہ جنگی کا بند ہونا، زبردست سے زبردست کا زور اٹھنا اور اسی قسم کی بہت سی باتیں ایسی اچھی ہیں کہ کسی عملداری میں نہ ہوئی ہیں نہ ہوں گی مگر غور کرو کہ ان باتوں سے وہ مصیبت جس کا ہم ذکر کرتے ہیں، نہیں جاتی ایک اور بات دیکھو کہ یہ نفع عملداری کا جو مذکور ہوا کن لوگوں کو زیادہ تر تھا، اول عورتوں کو کہ سب طرح سے آسائش میں تھیں، خانہ جنگی میں اولاد کا مارا جانا، چور ٹھگوں کے ہاتھ سے لٹنا، عاملوں کے ہاتھ سے خاوندوں اور بچوں کا محفوظ رہنا اور ہزارہا طرح کے مصائب سے محفوظ نہیں پھر دیکھ لو کہ کس قدر خیر خواہ اور مداح سرکار کی عملداری کی نہیں- مہاجن اور تجارت پیشہ لوگ بہت آسائش سے تھے پھر ان میں سے کوئی بھی بدخواہ نہ تھا حاصل یہ کہ جن لوگوں کو عملداری سرکار سے نقصان نہیں پہنچا تھا ان میں سے کوئی بدخواہ نہیں ہوا-

اصل چہارم

ترک ہونا ان امور کا ہمارے گورنمنٹ کی طرف سے جن کا بجالانا ہمارے گورنمنٹ پر ہندوستان کی حکومت کے لئے واجب اور لازم تھا

جو مراتب کہ ہم اسی مقام پر لکھتے ہیں کہ وہ ہمارے بعض حکام کے ناگوار طبع ہوں مگر ہم کو سچ لکھنا اور دل کھول کر کہنا اس مقام پر بہت ضرور ہے یہ وہ بات ہم کہتے ہیں کہ جس سے جنگلی وحشی جانور دام میں آتے ہیں، درندے رام ہوتے ہیں، انسان کی تو کیا حقیقت ہے کیا لارڈ بیکنز اسیز کافی نہیں کہ ہم اس مقام پر دوستی اور محبت اور ربط اور اتحاد کے فائدہ بیان کریں۔ ہاں اتنی بات بیان کرنی ضرور ہے کہ آپس کی محبت اور ہمسایہ کی دوستی سے گورنمنٹ اور رعایا کی محبت بہت بڑھ کر ہے۔ دوست کو ایک شخص سے دوستی کرنی پڑتی ہے اور گورنمنٹ کو اپنی تمام رعایا سے محب اور محبوب صرف دو شخص ہوتے ہیں جو دلی ارتباط سے ایک گنے جاتے ہیں۔ گورنمنٹ کو تمام رعایا سے ایسا ارتباط پیدا کرنا پڑتا ہے کہ رعیت اور گورنمنٹ سب مل کر ایک تن ہو جائیں (شعر)

چہارم نہ کرنا ان باتوں کا جن کا کرنا گورنمنٹ پر واجب تھا۔

Fourthly neglect in matters which should have received consideration of Government.

محبت اور اتحاد کا ہندوستانیوں سے نہ کرنا

Want of cordiality towards the Indians.

رعیت چو بیخ است و سلطاں درخت درخت اے پسر باشد از بیخ سخت

کیا یہ بات ہندوستان میں ہمارے گورنمنٹ سے نہیں ہو سکتی تھی؟ کیوں نہیں ہو سکتی تھی اس لئے کہ ہم کو دن رات تجربہ ہوتا ہے کہ دو غیر ملک اور مختلف مذہب کے آدمیوں میں دلی اتحاد ہوتا ہے۔ اس صورت میں کہ وہ اتحاد کرنا چاہیں اور یہ

پاؤل کا خط ۱، باب ۳، درس ۱۲

اصل چہارم

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پاؤل کا خط ۱، باب ۳، درس ۱۲

بھی دیکھتے ہیں کہ دو ہم قوم اور ہم مذہب اور ہم وطن آدمیوں میں کمال عداوت اور دشمنی ہوتی ہے۔ اس سے ثابت ہے کہ محبت اور اتحاد اور دوستی ہونے کو اتحاد مذہب اور ہم وطن اور ہم قوم ہونا ضرور نہیں کیا۔ پاؤل مقدس کی یہ نصیحت حکمت آمیز نہیں ہے کہ جیسے ہم تم سے محبت کرتے ہیں ویسا ہی خداوند تمہاری محبت آپس میں دوسروں کے ساتھ بڑھنے اور زیادہ ہونے دے جس کا نتیجہ یہ ہے کہ نہ صرف اپنے پڑوسیوں اور ہم قوموں سے بلکہ سب سے یہاں تک کہ دشمنوں سے بچی محبت ہو اور وہ محبت اور مہربانی روز بروز بڑھتی جائے اور کیا مسیح مقدس کا یہ قول دل کو تسلی دینے والا نہیں ہے کہ جو کچھ تم جانتے ہو کہ لوگ تمہارے ساتھ کریں، ویسا ہی تم بھی ان سے کرو کیونکہ توریت اور نبیوں کی کتاب کا خلاصہ یہی ہے۔ مراد مسیح مقدس کی اس نصیحت سے محبت ہے غرض کہ کوئی عقلمند اس سے انکار نہیں کر سکتا کہ محبت اور اتحاد بہت عمدہ چیز ہے اور بہت اچھے اچھے نتیجہ دیتی ہے اور بہت سی برائیوں کو روکتی ہے۔ آج تک ہمارے گورنمنٹ نے یہ محبت ہندوستان کی رعایا کے ساتھ پیدا نہیں کی۔

"And the Lord make you to increase, and abound in love one toward another, and toward all men even as we do towards you.-- the first Epistle of Punjab the Apostle to the Theassalonians, Chapter iii Verse 12.

متی باب ۷، ورس ۱۲

"Therefore all things what so ever you would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them, for this is the Law and the Prophets Mathew vii 12.

یہ بھی ایک عام قاعدہ محبت کا جبلت انسانی بلکہ حیوانی میں بھی قدرتی پیدا کیا گیا ہے کہ اعلیٰ کی طرف سے ادنیٰ کی طرف محبت چلتی ہے۔ باپ کی محبت اپنے بیٹے کی طرف پہلے اس سے شروع ہوتی ہے کہ بیٹے کو باپ سے ہے۔ اسی طرح مرد کی محبت اپنی عورت کی طرف عورت کی محبت سے جو مرد کی طرف ہے۔ مقدم ہے۔ اسی بنا پر یہ بات ہے کہ ادنیٰ جو اعلیٰ سے محبت شروع کرے وہ خوشامد گنی جاتی ہے نہ محبت۔ اس کا نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ ہمارے گورنمنٹ کو اول چاہئے تھا کہ رعایا کے ساتھ محبت اور اتحاد کرنے میں تقدم کرتے پھر

محبت کا یہ قاعدہ جو ہزارہا تجربہ سے حاصل ہوا ہے کہ خواہ مخواہ محبت دوسرے کی دل میں اثر کرتی ہے اور اپنی طرف کھینچ لاتی ہے۔ رعایا کے دل میں اثر کرتی اور رعایا اس سے زیادہ ہمارے گورنمنٹ کی محبت بلکہ فریفتہ ہوجاتی ہے (شعر)

عشق آں خانماں خرابے ہست　　کہ ترا آورد بخانۂ ما

مگر افسوس کہ ہمارے گورنمنٹ نے ایسا نہیں کیا۔

اگر ہماری گورنمنٹ دعویٰ کرے کہ یہ بات غلط ہے، ہم نے ایسا نہیں کیا بلکہ محبت کی اور نیکی کا بدلا بدی پائی تو اس کا انصاف ہم خود گورنمنٹ کے سپرد کریں گے۔ اگر یہ بات یوں ہی ہوتی تو رعایا کو بلاشبہ ہمارے گورنمنٹ کی محبت سے زیادہ محبت ہوتی بیشک محبت ایک دل کی چیز ہے جو کہے سے اور بنائے سے نہیں بنتی ظاہر میں بھی اگرچہ اس کے آثار پائے جاتے ہیں۔ الاچ یہ ہے کہ نہ وہ بیان ہوسکتی ہے اور نہ نشان دی جاسکتی ہے مگر دل اس کو خوب جانتا ہے بلکہ اس کے ہاتھ میں ایک ایسی سچی ترازو ہے کہ وہ کمی بیشی کو بھی پہچانتا ہے (شعر)

دل را زدل رہ است دریں گنبد سپہر　　از سوے کینہ کینہ و از سوے مہر مہر

ہمارے گورنمنٹ نے اپنے آپ کو آج تک ہندوستانیوں سے ایسا الگ اور ان میل رکھا ہے جیسے آگ اور سوکھی گھاس ہمارے گورنمنٹ اور ہندوستانی پتھر کے دو ٹکڑے ہیں۔ سفید و کالے کہ الگ الگ پہچانے جاتے ہیں اور پھر ان دونوں میں ایک فاصلہ ہے کہ دن بدن زیادہ ہوتا جاتا ہے حالانکہ ہمارے گورنمنٹ کو ہندوستان کی رعایا کے ساتھ ایسا ہونا چاہئے جیسے ابریکا پتھر کہ باوجود دو رنگ کے ایک ہوتا ہے۔ سفید رنگ میں سیاہ خال بہت خوبصورت معلوم ہوتے ہیں اور سیاہی میں سفیدی عجب بہار دکھلاتی ہے۔

پطرس خط ۲، باب ۱، درس ۷

ہم بانصافی کی بات نہیں کہتے۔ ہمارے گورنمنٹ کو بلاشبہ

And to godliness brotherly kindness and to brotherly kindness charity." -- II Peter I.7.

عیسائیوں کے ساتھ ایک خاص محبت دینداری کی رکھنی چاہئے مگر ہم اپنے گورنمنٹ سے رعایا ہندوستان پر وہ برادرانہ محبت اور برادرانہ محبت پر وہ الفت چاہتے ہیں جس کی نصیحت پطرس مقدس نے کی ہے۔ اب غور کرو کہ ہمارے حکام اور ہندوستانیوں کا خون ایک نہ تھا' مذہب ایک نہ تھا' رسم و رواج ایک نہ تھا' دلی رضامندی رعایا کو نہ تھی' آپس میں محبت اور اتحاد نہ تھا' پھر کس بات پر ہمارے حکام ہندوستان سے وفاداری کی توقع رکھتے تھے۔

پچھلی عملداریوں میں جب تک ہندوستانیوں سے محبت نہ ہوئی آسائش نہ ہوئی

In ancient times as long as cordiality was not observed by the reigning powers. established.

ہندوستان کی پچھلی سلطنتوں کا حال دیکھو اول ہندوستان پر مسلمانوں نے فتح پائی' ترکوں اور پٹھانوں کی سلطنت میں ہندوستان کی رعایا سے محبت اور میل جول نہ ہوا جب تک آسائش اور آسودگی سلطنت نے صورت نہ پکڑی۔ مغلیہ کی سلطنت میں اکبر اول کے عہد سے یہ ملاپ بخوبی شروع ہوا اور شاہجہاں کے وقت تک بدستور رہا باوجودیکہ اس زمانہ میں بھی رعایا کو بے نظمی اصول سلطنت کے سبب تکلیفیں پہنچتی تھیں مگر وہ زخم مندمل ہو جاتا تھا۔ اس برادرانہ محبت سے جو آپس میں تھی۔ سنہ ۱۶۷۹ء میں یعنی عالم گیر کے عہد میں یہ محبت ٹوٹ گئی اور بسبب مقابلہ اور سرکشی قوم ہنود کے میل سیواجی مرہٹہ وغیرہ کے۔ عالم گیر جملہ قوم ہنود سے ناراض ہوا اور اپنے صوبہ داروں کے نام حکم بھیجے کہ جملہ قوم ہنود کے ساتھ سخت گیری پیش آئے اور ہر ایک سے جزیہ لے پھر جو مضرت اور ناراضی رعایا کو ہوئی وہ ظاہر ہے غرض کہ ہمارے گورنمنٹ نے سو برس کی عملداری میں بھی رعایا سے محبت اور الفت پیدا نہ کی۔

ہندوستانیوں کی بے توقیری

Treating the Indians with centempt.

اس بات سے تو کوئی انکار نہیں کر سکتا کہ رعایا کو باعزت رکھنا اور ان کی تالیف کرنی یعنی ان کے دلوں کو ہاتھ میں رکھنا بہت بڑا سبب ہے پائیداری گورنمنٹ کا۔ تھوڑا ملے اور آدمی کی

عزت ہو تو وہ بہت زیادہ خوش ہوتا ہے بہ نسبت اس کے کہ بہت ملے اور تھوڑی عزت ہو، بے عزتی کرنی کسی کی ایسی بد چیز ہے کہ آدمی کے دل کو دکھاتی ہے۔ یہی چیز ہے کہ بغیر ظاہری نقصان پہنچائے عداوت پیدا کرتی ہے اور اس کا ایسا گہرا زخم ہوتا ہے کہ کبھی نہیں بھرتا (شعر)

جراحات السنان لها التیام ولا یلتام ما جرح اللسان

تالیف کی خاصیت اس کے برخلاف ہے۔ یہ وہ چیز ہے کہ اس سے دشمن دوست ہوتا ہے اور دوستوں کی محبت زیادہ ہوتی ہے۔ بیگانہ یگانہ ہوتا ہے یہی چیز ہے کہ جس سے وحشی جنگل کے جانور چرند و پرند تابع دار ہوتے ہیں۔ پھر اگر رعایا کے ساتھ ہو تو وہ کس قدر مطیع اور فرمانبردار ہوں گے۔ ابتدائے عملداری میں یہ چیز تھی کہ جس نے سب کے دلوں کو ہمارے گورنمنٹ کی طرف کھینچ لیا تھا۔ ایک دلی اطاعت پیدا کر دی تھی بیشک ہمارے گورنمنٹ ان باتوں کو بھول گئے بلاشبہ تمام رعایا ہندوستان کی اس بات کی شاکی ہے کہ ہمارے گورنمنٹ نے ان کو نہایت بے قدر اور بے وقر کر دیا ہے۔ ہندوستان کے اشراف آدمی کی ایک چھوٹے سے یورپین کے سامنے ایسی بھی قدر نہیں ہے جیسی کہ ایک چھوٹے یورپین کی ایک بہت بڑے ڈیوک کے سامنے یوں تصور کیا جاتا تھا کہ ہندوستان میں کوئی جنٹل مین نہیں ہے۔

حکام اضلاع کی سخت مزاجی اور بدزبانی

The ill tmper and uncourtly address of local authorities towards the natives.

یہ سب باتیں یعنی محبت اور الفت اور عزت اور تالیف رعایا کی گورنمنٹ کی طرف سے ظاہر ہوتی ہے۔ بوسیلہ ان حکام متعہد کے جو ہمارے گورنمنٹ کی طرف سے ہندوستان میں کار پردازی اور رعایا سے معاملہ اور میل جول اور ملاقات رکھتے ہیں۔ گورنمنٹ کا ارادہ کیسا ہی نیک ہو، وہ کبھی ظاہر نہ ہوگا۔ جب تک کہ یہ لوگ اس کے ظاہر کرنے پر کمر نہ باندھیں اگلے

حکام متعہد کے عادات اور روش اور اخلاق بہت برخلاف تھے۔
حال کے حکام متعہد سے وہ پہلے لوگ بہت عزت کرتے تھے۔
ہندوستانیوں کی ہر طرح سے خاطرداری سے پیش آتے تھے۔ ان
کے دلوں کو اپنے ہاتھ میں رکھتے تھے۔ دوستانہ ان کے رنج و
راحت کے شریک ہوتے تھے باوجودیکہ وہ بہت بڑی سرداری
اور حکومت ہندوستان میں رکھتے تھے اور تحشم اور رعب اور
دبدبہ جو شایان حکومت ہے، وہ بھی ہاتھ سے نہ دیتے تھے۔ پھر
ایسی محبت اور عزت ہندوستانیوں کی کرتے تھے کہ ہر ایک شخص
مل کر ان کے اخلاق اور ان کی محبت کا فریفتہ ہو جاتا تھا اور تعجب
سے کہتا تھا کہ یہ کیسے اچھے لوگ ہیں کہ باوصف اس حشمت و
شوکت اور حکومت کے بے غرور ہیں اور کس طرح اخلاق سے
ملتے ہیں۔ ہندوستان میں جو لوگ بزرگ گنے جاتے تھے، ان سے
اسی طرح پیش آتے تھے۔ بیشک ان لوگوں نے پطرس مقدس کی
پیروی کی تھی اور برادرانہ محبت اور اس برادرانہ محبت پر الفت
بڑھائی تھی۔ حال میں جو حکام متعہد ہیں، ان میں سے اکثروں کی
طبیعتیں اس کے برعکس ہیں۔ کیا ان کے غرور اور تکبر نے تمام
ہندوستانیوں کو ان کی آنکھوں میں ناچیز نہیں کر دیا ہے۔ کیا ان کی
بدمزاجی اور بے پروائی نے ہندوستانیوں کے دل میں بیجا دہشت
نہیں ڈالی ہے۔ کیا ہمارے گورنمنٹ کو نہیں معلوم ہے کہ بڑے
سے بڑا ذی عزت ہندوستانی حکام سے لرزاں اور بے عزتی کے
خوف سے ترساں نہ تھا اور کیا یہ بات چھپی ہوئی ہے کہ ایک
اشراف اہلکار صاحب کے سامنے مثل پڑھ رہا ہے اور ہاتھ جوڑ
جوڑ کر باتیں کرتا ہے اور صاحب کی بدمزاجی اور سخت کلامی بلکہ
دشنام دہی سے دل میں روتا جاتا ہے اور کہتا ہے کہ ہائے افسوس
روٹی اور کہیں نہیں ملتی۔ اس نوکری سے تو گھاس کھودنی بہتر

پطرس خط ۲، باب ۱
درس ۷

"And to godliness brotherly kindness and to brotherly kindness, charity" --- II Peter v.7.

ہے۔ میں سب حکام پر یہ الزام نہیں لگاتا بیشک ایسے بھی حکام ہیں
کہ ان کی محبت اور ان کے اخلاق اور اوصاف سب میں مشہور
ہیں اور تمام ہندوستانی ان کو چاند اور سورج کی طرح پہچانتے ہیں
اور ان کو اگلے حکام کا نمونہ سمجھتے ہیں اور حقیقت میں وہ اسی
نصیحت پر چلتے ہیں جو مسیح مقدس نے شمعون مقدس اور اندریا کو
فرمائی تھی جبکہ وہ دریا میں مچھلیوں کے شکار کو جال ڈالتے تھے کہ
میرے پیچھے چلے آؤ میں تم کو آدمیوں کا شکار کرنے والا بناؤں گا۔
انہوں نے اپنی نیک خصلت سے رعایا کو اپنی محبت کے جال میں
کھینچ لیا ہے۔ ان حاکموں نے اپنی حکومت کا رعب بھی رکھا ہے
اور پھر بیجا غرور بھی رعایا کے ساتھ نہیں کیا اور وہی مبارکی حاصل
کی جو مسیح مقدس نے فرمائی تھی۔ مبارک ہیں جو دل میں بے
غرور ہیں اس لئے کہ آسمان کی بادشاہت انہی کی ہے۔ ان
حاکموں نے اپنا حلم انصاف والا سب رعایا کو جتایا اور زمین پر
حکومت کی جیسا کہ یسوع مقدس نے فرمایا تھا۔ مبارک وہ ہیں جو
حلیم ہیں۔ اس لئے کہ زمین کے وارث ہوں گے۔ ان حکموں
نے اپنی روشنی عیسا مسیح کے قول بموجب اسی طرح رعایا کو دکھائی
کہ تمہاری روشنی آدمیوں کے سامنے ویسی ہی چمکے تاکہ وہ
تمہارے نیک کاموں کو دیکھ کر تمہارے باپ کی جو آسمان پر ہے،
شکر کریں۔ اس قسم کے حاکم اگرچہ کم تھے مگر جہاں تھے عزیز تھے۔

متی باب ٤، درس ١٩

"And he saith unto them, Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men." mathew iv. 19.

متی باب ٥، درس ٣

"Blessed are the poor in spirit; for theirs is kingdom of heavean." --Mathew v.3.

متی باب ٥، درس ٥

"Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth." ---Mathew v.5.

"Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works and gloryfy your Father which is in heaven." --Mathew v.16.

مسلمانوں کو یہ باتیں زیادہ ناگوار تھیں اور اس کا سبب

The ill treatment more repugnant to the feelings of the Mahomedans and their causes.

اس میں بھی کچھ شک نہیں کہ یہ باتیں ہر ایک قوم کے
لوگوں کو ناگوار تھیں مگر مسلمانوں کو بہت زیادہ گراں گزرتی
تھیں۔ اس کا سبب بہت روشن ہے کہ صدہا سال سے مسلمان
ہندوستان میں بھی باعزت چلے آتے ہیں۔ ان کی طبیعت اور
جبلت میں ایک غیرت ہے۔ دل میں لالچ روپیہ کی بہت کم ہے۔
کسی لالچ سے عزت کا جانا نہیں چاہتے۔ بہت تجربہ ہوا ہوگا کہ اور

قوم میں جو باتیں بغیر رنج کے اٹھا لیتے ہیں، مسلمانوں کو اس سے بھی ادنیٰ بات کا اٹھانا نہایت مشکل ہوتا تھا۔ ہم نے مانا کہ مسلمانوں میں یہ خصلتیں بہت بری ہی سہی مگر مجبوری ہے۔ خدا نے جو طبیعت بنائی ہے وہ بدلی نہیں جاتی اس میں مسلمانوں کی بدبختی سہی مگر کچھ قصور نہیں۔ یہی رنج تھے جن کے باعث تبدل عملداری کو دل چاہتا تھا۔ سرکار کے برخلاف خبریں سن کر دل خوش ہوتا تھا مگر افسوس یہ ہے کہ ہمارے گورنمنٹ کو مسلمانوں کی بھلائی سے اغماض نہ تھا۔ ان کی لیاقت اور تعلیم ان کا ادب سب پیش نظر تھا مگر یہ لوگ اس سے بے خبر تھے اور ہمارے گورنمنٹ کا ارادہ اور دلی نیت حکام کے وسیلہ سے ظاہر نہیں ہوتا تھا۔

ہندوستانیوں کی ترقی کا نہ ہونا اور لارڈ بنٹنک نے جو ترقی کی وہ کافی نہ تھی

Exclusion of natives from prmotion to high appointments, Lord Bentinck's system of employing natives in high grades of service an inadequate one.

اہل ہند علی الخصوص مسلمانوں کی ناراضی کا بڑا سبب یہ تھا کہ اعلیٰ عہدہ جات پر ترقی بہت کم تھی۔ بہت ہی کم زمانہ گزرا ہے کہ یہ لوگ تمام ہندوستان میں معزز تھے، بڑے بڑے عہدے پاتے تھے۔ ان کا عزم اور ان کا ارادہ اب بھی ویسا ہی تھا اسی طرح اپنی قدر و منزلت کی ترقی چاہتے تھے اور ظاہر میں کوئی صورت نظر نہ آتی تھی۔ ابتدائے عملداری سرکار میں جو لوگ خاندانی اور معزز تھے۔ وہ منتخب ہو کر معزز عہدے پاتے تھے۔ رفتہ رفتہ یہ بات نہ رہی اس میں کچھ شک نہیں کہ ان لوگوں میں چنداں لیاقت نہ تھی۔ اس لئے امتحان کا قاعدہ ہماری رائے میں کسی طرح قابل الزام کے نہیں اور نہ درحقیقت کسی کو اس کا رنج ہے اس میں کچھ شک نہیں کہ امتحان سے عمدہ اہلکار ہاتھ آئے مگر ایسے ایسے لوگ ان معزز عہدوں پر مقرر ہو گئے جو ہندوستانیوں کی آنکھوں میں نہایت بے قدر تھے۔ سرٹیفکیٹ ملنے میں خاندانی اور ذی عزت ہونے کا بہت کم لحاظ رہا جس قدر

ہندوستانیوں کی ترقی لارڈ منٹو صاحب بہادر نے کی اس سے زیادہ پھر نہیں ہوئی۔ کچھ شک نہیں ہے کہ وہ ترقی بسبب قلت عہدجات کے نہایت ناکافی تھی۔ بڑے بڑے اعلیٰ حکام اس بات کا اقرار کرتے ہیں کہ جیسی ترقی ہندوستانیوں کی چاہئے تھی ویسی نہیں ہوئی۔

بادشاہانہ دربار کا نہ ہونا

The not holding of Durbars by the Govenor General of India, and not conferring on Indians the rank and honors due to merit, according to the usage of former Emperors.

اہل ہند کو قدیم عادت تھی کہ اپنے بادشاہوں کے دربار میں حاضر ہوتے تھے۔ بادشاہ کی شان اور شوکت اور تجمل اور تحشم دیکھ کر خوش ہوتے تھے۔ ایک قاعدہ جبلت انسانی میں پڑا ہے کہ اپنے بادشاہ اور مالک سے مل کر دل خوش ہوتا ہے۔ یہ بات جانتا ہے کہ یہ ہمارا بادشاہ اور ہمارا مالک ہے ہم اس کے تابع اور رعیت ہیں علی الخصوص اہل ہند کو قدیم سے اس کی عادت پڑی ہوئی تھی۔ جو اب مدت سے نایاب تھی۔ نواب گورنر جنرل بہادر اگرچہ دورہ میں دربار کرتے تھے مگر ہندوستانیوں کی مراد تک پورا نہ تھا۔ لارڈ اکلنڈ اور لارڈ الن برا صاحب بہادر نے البتہ شاہانہ دربار کئے۔ شاید ولایت میں یہ طریقہ کچھ ناپسند ہوا ہو مگر حق یہ ہے کہ ہندوستان کے حالات کے نہایت مناسب تھا بلکہ اب بھی جیسا چاہئے تھا ویسا نہ ہوا تھا۔ خدا ہمیشہ ہماری ملکہ معظمہ وکٹوریا کا حافظ ہے، خدا ہمیشہ ہمارے ناظم مملکت ہند نائب مناب ملکہ معظمہ اور گورنر جنرل بہادر ہندوستان کا حافظ ہے۔ ہم کو امید ہے کہ اب کوئی آرزو اہل ہند کی بے پوری ہوئے باقی نہ رہے گی۔

لارڈ اکلنڈ اور لارڈ الن براصاحب بہادر نے جو دربار کئے وہ بہت ہی مناسب تھے

The observation of these rules by Lord Auckland and Lord Ellenborough a very proper one.

سچ ہے کہ حقیقی بادشاہت خدا تعالیٰ کو ہے جس نے تمام عالم کو پیدا کیا مگر اللہ تعالیٰ نے اپنی حقیقی سلطنت کا نمونہ دنیا میں بادشاہوں کو پیدا کیا ہے تاکہ اس کے بندے اس نمونہ سے اپنے حقیقی بادشاہ کو پہچان کر اس کا شکر ادا کریں۔ اس لئے بڑے بڑے حکیموں اور عقلمندوں نے یہ بات ٹھہرائی ہے کہ جیسا کہ اس حقیقی

بادشاہ کی خصلتیں داد و دہش اور بخشش اور مہربانی کی ہیں، اسی کا نمونہ ان مجازی بادشاہوں میں بھی چاہئے۔ یہی بات ہے کہ جس کے سبب بڑے بڑے عقلمندوں نے بادشاہ کو ظل اللہ ٹھہرایا ہے۔ اس سے نتیجہ یہ نکلتا ہے کہ جس طرح خداوند تعالیٰ کی بے انتہا بخشش اور انعام اپنی ساری رعیت کے ساتھ چاہئے اگرچہ ابتدا میں یہ بات خیال میں آتی ہے کہ ذرا ذرا سی بات میں انعام و اکرام دینا بے فائدہ خزانہ کا خالی کرنا ہے مگر یہ بات یوں نہیں بلکہ انعام و اکرام سے بڑا فائدہ یہ ہے کہ رعیت کو اپنے بادشاہ کی محبت بڑھتی ہے۔ کلیہ قاعدہ یہ ہے کہ الانسان عبیدالاحسان اس لئے تمام رعیت اپنے بادشاہ کا انعام و اکرام دیکھ کر خواہ مخواہ دلی محبت پیدا کرتی ہے اور اچھی اچھی خدمت گزاریوں اور خیرخواہیوں کا حوصلہ رکھتی ہے۔ تاریخ کی کتابوں سے ظاہر ہے کہ اگلی عملداریوں میں یہ بات بہت رائج تھی۔ ہر ہر طرح سے انعام و اکرام رعایا کو اور سرداروں کو ملتا تھا۔ بڑے بڑے قیمتی خلعت اور عمدہ عمدہ تحفہ اور نقد روپیہ اور زمین جاگیر انعام میں ملتی تھی، خاندانی آدمی خطاب پاتے تھے۔ ہم چشموں میں عزت پیدا کرتے تھے۔ ان کے دل میں بڑے بڑے حوصلہ آتے تھے اور ہندوستان کی رعایا اس بات کو بہت پسند کرتی تھی بلکہ صدہا سال سے اس کے عادی ہو رہے تھے۔ ہمارے گورنمنٹ نے یہ سلسلہ بالکل موقوف کر دیا تھا۔ کسی شخص کو رعیت میں سے اس قسم کے ظاہری انعام و اکرام کی توقع نہیں رہی تھی اور اسی باعث سے تبدل عملداری کو ان کا دل چاہتا تھا۔ یہاں تک کہ جب کبھی ازبل ایسٹ انڈیا کمپنی کے ٹھیکہ ختم ہونے اور ملکہ معظمہ کی عملداری ہونے کی خبر سنتے تھے تو خوش ہوتے تھے۔ اگلے بادشاہوں کے عہد میں انعام و اکرام دو قسم کا ہوتا تھا ایک وہ جو بادشاہ اپنی عیاشی اور اپنی ناپسندیدہ خصلتوں کے پالنے میں خرچ

کرتا تھا۔ یہ بات درحقیقت ناپسندیدہ تھی اور ہندوستانی بھی اس کو ناپسند کرتے تھے بلکہ پاجیوں اور غیر مستحقوں کے انعام سے ناراض ہوتے تھے۔ دوسری قسم کا انعام وہ تھا کہ جو بادشاہ اپنے خیرخواہ نوکروں اور فتح نصیب سرداروں اپنی رعیت کے علماء اور صلحا اور فقرا اور شعرا اور خانہ نشینوں اور بے رزقوں کو دیتا تھا۔ اس قسم کے انعام کی سب خواہش رکھتے ہیں اور اسی کے نہ ہونے سے ناراض ہیں، یہ بھی سچ ہے کہ ان باتوں سے رعایا کم ہمت اور آرام طلب ہو جاتی ہے اور محنت کش اور قوت بازو سے روٹی کمانے والی نہیں رہتی۔ اس لئے بادشاہ کو اس قسم کے انعام سے قطع نظر کرکر دوسری قسم کا انعام یعنی آزادی دینا بہتر ہے تاکہ ان کو خود روٹی کمانے کی گنجائش ملے یہ بات سچ ہے مگر یہ انعام اس وقت جاری ہو سکتا ہے جبکہ رعایا آسودہ اور تربیت یافتہ ہو' نہ یہ کہ وحوش سیرتوں کی ہانکہ میں سے نکیل نکال کر بے آب و دانہ جنگل میں ہانک دیں کہ خود دانہ و پانی ڈھونڈ لو ان کا انجام کیا ہوگا بجز اس کے کہ یا مر جائیں گے یا وہی وحشیوں کی سی حرکتیں کریں گے جس سے ہماری مراد ہندوستان کے یہ سرکشی ہے۔

جس قدر اصلی سرکشی ہندوستان میں ہوئی اس سے زیادہ دکھائی دی

The facts of the rebellion in India appeared more serious to the authorities than they in reality were, --their causes.

غصہ ایک ایسی چیز ہے کہ معاملات کی اصلیت کو آنکھ سے چھپا دیتا ہے۔ طبیعت انتقام اور سیاست کی طرف متوجہ ہو جاتی ہے۔ سچ ہے کہ جو وارداتیں ہندوستان میں سنہ ۱۸۵۷ء میں پیش آئیں اسی لائق تھیں کہ ہمارے حکام کو جس قدر غصہ آئے اور جس قدر انتقام اور سیاست کریں سب بجا ہے مگر ہندوستان کی حالت پر غور کرنا چاہئے کہ درحقیقت کس قدر سرکشی ہندوستان میں اصلی تھی اور کیوں اس قدر بڑھ گئی اور کیوں اس قدر دکھائی دی اور بدنصیب مسلمان کیوں زیادہ مفسد بعض اضلاع میں دکھائی دیئے۔ غور کرنے کی بات ہے کہ صدہا سال سے عملداری

ہندوستان میں تزلزل تھا۔ رعایا ہندوستان کو یہ موروثی عادت تھی
کہ جب کوئی امیر یا سردار یا بادشاہ زادہ قابو یافتہ ہوا، اس کے
ساتھ ہزاروں آدمی جمع ہو گئے۔ اس کی نوکری کو اس کی طرف
سے عالی کو اس کی طرف سے انتظام کو کسی طرح اپنا قصور نہیں
سمجھتے تھے۔ ہندوستان میں یہ ایک مثل مشہور ہے کہ نوکری پیشہ کا
کیا قصور جس نے نوکر رکھا، تنخواہ دی، اس کی نوکری کی البتہ
جب سردار اٹھایا جائے اور اس کی جگہ دوسرا سردار قائم ہو، اس
کی اطاعت نہ کرنے کو قصور سمجھتے تھے۔ ہندوستان کے امیروں
اور سرداروں کا علی الخصوص ان کا جو قبل عملداری سرکار
ہندوستان پر مسلط تھے اور جس کے سبب ہندوستان طوائف
الملوک ہو رہا تھا، یہی عادت تھی کہ ملازمین سیف اور قلم سے
کسی طرح کی مزاحمت نہ کرتے تھے۔ وہی عادت تمام ہندوستان
کے لوگوں کو پڑی ہوئی تھی۔ جب ہندوستان میں مفسدوں نے سر
اٹھایا اور لوگوں کو نوکر رکھنا چاہا، ہزارہا آدمی جو روٹی سے محتاج
اور نوکریوں کے خواہش مند تھے، جاکر نوکر ہوئے۔ سب کہتے تھے
کہ ہمارا کیا قصور ہے، ہم تو نوکری پیشہ ہیں۔ عام رعایا میں سے
بہت سے لوگ اس اپنی قدیمی عادت سے کہ اب جو سردار ہے
اس کی اطاعت کریں، ہم تو رعیت ہیں جو زبردست ہے اس کے
تابع ہیں۔ باغیوں کے تابع ہو گئے۔ بہت سے اہلکاران سرکاری یہ
سمجھے کہ باغیوں سے ظاہرداری کر کر جان بچائیں اور جب سرکار
کا تسلط ہو پھر سرکار کے تابع ہوں۔ وہ بھی مجرم ہو گئے حالانکہ کچھ
شک کا مقام نہیں ہے کہ وہ دل سے سرکار کے تابع تھے۔ اکثر
لوگوں اور اہلکاروں سے دفعتاً مجبوری خواہ نادانی خواہ مقتضائے
بشریت کوئی بات ہو گئی انہوں نے خیال کیا کہ اب ہمارے اس
قصور اتفاقیہ یا مجبورانہ یا جاہلانہ سے سرکار درگزر نہیں کرنے کی

زبور ۱۴۳ ورس ۲

"And enter not into judgment with they servant, for tin they sight shall no man living be justified." -- -- psalm exl iii.2.

زبور ۵۱ ورس ۱، ۲

"Have mercy upon me O'God according to they loving kindness: according unto the multitude of they tender mercies, blot out my transgressions," (2) "Wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity, and cleasnse me from my sin." --Psalm li,--land 2.

اور سزا دے گی۔ اس خوف اور ڈر سے لاچار باغیوں کے ساتھ جا شامل ہوئے۔ بہت سے آدمیوں نے در حقیقت کچھ نہیں کیا تھا مگر بخوف اور بسبب اور خیالات چند در چند باغیوں میں مل گئے۔ بہت لوگوں نے اس زمانہ میں وہ باتیں کیں جن باتوں کو وہ لوگ اپنے ذہن اور اپنی سمجھ میں جرم مخالف سرکار نہیں سمجھتے۔ اگر تمام ہندوستان کے حالات بغاوت پر نظر کی جائے گی تو ہم کو یقین ہے کہ دونوں قومیں جو ہندوستان میں بستی ہیں، برابر بلکہ ایک سے زیادہ ایک اور ایک سے زیادہ ایک اس فساد میں مفسد نظر پڑیں گی اور اس کے اثبات پر تمام حالات ہندوستان کے گواہ موجود ہیں مگر جن اضلاع میں مسلمان زیادہ تر مفسد دکھائی دیئے اس کا سبب صرف یہی نہیں خیال کرنا چاہئے کہ دہلی کی سلطنت پر مسلمان بادشاہ نے دعویٰ کیا تھا اور در حقیقت مسلمان اس قدر مفسد ہوئے تھے جیسا کہ نظر پڑے نہیں حکام کا مزاج دفعتاً ان باتوں سے جو ظاہر میں مسلمانوں سے ہوئیں، ناراض ہو گیا۔ ان کے مخالفوں کو بڑی گنجائش ہو گئی۔ خود غرضانہ باتیں پیش کرنے کو تھوڑی بات کو بہت بڑھا کر کہا۔ ادھر حکام کو زیادہ ناراضی ہوئی ادھر مسلمانوں کو زیادہ تر خوف اور مایوسی ہوئی اور اپنی تقدیر سے جتنے تھے اس سے زیادہ مفسد دکھائی دیئے۔ اس میں کچھ شک نہیں کہ پانچویں قسم کی بغاوت مسلمانوں میں بہت تھی اور وہ تبدل عملداری کے خیال سے بہت خوش ہوتے تھے جس کا سبب ہم ایک مقام پر بیان کرتے آئے ہیں بایں ہمہ ہماری گورنمنٹ پر مخفی نہ ہو گا کہ استحصال پر بھی جانبازی کی خیر خواہیاں اس ہنگامہ میں کس سے زیادہ ظہور میں آئی ہیں۔ خدا کے آگے جس کو حقیقی بادشاہت ہے اور دنیا کے بادشاہوں کے آگے جن کو مجازی سلطنت خداوند نے عطا کی ہے، سب گنہگار ہیں۔ سچ فرمایا داؤد

مقدس علیہ السلام نے کہ اے خداوند اپنے بندے سے حساب نہ لے کیونکہ کوئی جاندار تیرے حضور بے گناہ ٹھہر نہیں سکتا۔ اے خدا اپنے کامل کرم سے مجھ پر رحم کر اور اپنے رحموں کی فراوانی سے میرے گناہ مٹا دے۔ مجھے میری برائی سے خوب دھو اور مجھے میرے گناہ سے پاک کر۔ آمین! خدا ہمیشہ ہماری ملکہ معظمہ وکٹوریا کا حافظ ہے۔ میں بیان نہیں کر سکتا خوبی اس پر رحم اشتہار کی جو ہماری ملکہ معظمہ نے جاری کیا بے شک ہماری ملکہ معظمہ کے سر پر خدا کا ہاتھ ہے بیشک یہ پر رحم اشتہار الہام سے جاری ہوا ہے۔ ہندوستان کا بہت قدیم قاعدہ چلا آیا ہے کہ جب دارالسلطنت پر کوئی بادشاہ خواہ ازروئے استحقاق کے اور خواہ بغیر استحقاق کے قائم ہوا۔ سب سردار ملکوں کے اس کی طرف رجوع کرتے تھے۔ اس ہنگامہ میں بھی یہی ہوا کہ جب دلی کا بادشاہ تخت پر بیٹھا اور ملکوں میں خبر پہنچی کہ دلی کے بادشاہ نے تخت سنبھالا سب نے بادشاہ کی طرف رجوع کی جبکہ دلی کا بادشاہ پکڑا گیا اور وہ دارالسلطنت ہمارے گورنمنٹ کے قبضہ میں آیا سب کو یقین تھا کہ جملہ مفسد جنہوں نے سر اٹھایا ہے، اطاعت کریں گے شاید فوج باغی کے لوگ رہ جاتے مگر یہ امر جو ظہور میں نہ آیا اس کا سبب لکھنا ہم اپنی اس رائے میں ضروری نہیں سمجھتے۔

ملکہ معظمہ کا اشتہار نہایت قابل تعریف ہے بلکہ خدا کے الہام سے جاری ہوا ہے۔

The promulgation of Her Majesty's Proclamation highly commendable, indeed, may be said to have originated under divine inspiration.

اصل پنجم

بدانتظامی اور بے اہتمامی فوج

پنجم بدانتظامی و بے اہتمامی فوج

ہمارے گورنمنٹ کا انتظام فوج ہمیشہ قابل اعتراض کے تھا۔ فوج انگلشیہ کی کمی ہمیشہ اعتراض کی جگہ تھی۔ جبکہ نادر شاہ نے خراسان پر فتح پائی اور ایران اور افغانستان دو مختلف ملک اور

Fiftyly,- The fusubordinate state of the Indian forces.

فوج انگلیشیہ کی کمی

The paucity of the English forces.

نے قبضہ میں آئے۔ اس نے برابر کی دو فوجیں آراستہ کیں۔ ایک ایرانی قزلباشی دوسری افغانی جب ایرانی فوج کچھ عدول حکمی کا ارادہ کرتی تو افغانی فوج اس کے دبانے کو موجود تھی اور جب افغانی فوج سرتابی کرتی تو قزلباشی اس کے تدارک کو موجود ہوتی۔ ہمارے گورنمنٹ نے یہ کام ہندوستان میں نہیں کیا۔ ہم نے مانا کہ ہندوستانی فوج سرکار کی بڑی تابعدار اور خیرخواہ اور جانثار تھی مگر یہ کہاں سے عہد ہو گیا تھا کہ کبھی اس فوج کے خلاف مرضی حکم نہ ہوگا اور کسی حکم سے یہ فوج آزردہ خاطر نہ ہوگی۔ پھر درصورت ناراض ہو جانے اس فوج کے جیسا کہ ہوا کیا راہ رکھی تھی ہمارے گورنمنٹ نے جس سے اس تمردی کا رفع دفع فی الفور ہو سکتا۔

مسلمانوں اور ہندوؤں کو مخلوط کر کر پلٹنوں میں نوکر رکھنا

The employment of Hindoos and Mahomedans in the same regiment.

یہ بات سچ ہے کہ ہمارے گورنمنٹ نے ہندو مسلمان دونوں قوموں کو جو آپس میں مخالف ہیں، نوکر رکھا تھا مگر بسبب مخلوط ہو جانے ان دونوں قوموں کے ہر ایک پلٹن میں یہ تفرقہ نہ رہا تھا۔ ظاہر ہے کہ ایک پلٹن کے جتنے نوکر ہیں، ان میں بسبب ایک جگہ رہنے کے اور ایک لڑی میں مرتب ہونے کے آپس میں اتحاد اور ارتباط برادرانہ ہو جاتا تھا۔ ایک پلٹن کے سپاہی اپنے آپ کو ایک برادری سمجھتے تھے اور اسی سبب سے ہندو مسلمان کی تمیز نہ تھی۔ دونوں قومیں آپس میں اپنے آپ کو بھائی سمجھتی تھیں۔ اس پلٹن کے آدمی جو کچھ کرتے تھے سب اس میں شریک ہو جاتے تھے۔ ایک دوسرے کا حامی اور مددگار ہو جاتا تھا۔ اگر انہیں دونوں قوموں کی پلٹن اس طرح پر آراستہ ہوتیں کہ ایک پلٹن نری ہندوؤں کی ہوتی جس میں کوئی مسلمان نہ ہوتا اور ایک پلٹن نری مسلمانوں کی ہوتی جس میں کوئی ہندو نہ ہوتا تو یہ آپس کا اتحاد اور برادری نہ ہونے پاتی اور وہی تفرقہ قائم رہتا اور میں

مسلمانوں کی جدا پلٹن ہوتی تو شاید مسلمانوں کو کارتوس کاٹنے میں عذر نہ ہوتا

If these two cast formed distinct Regts. Perhaps the Mahamedan would not have objected to the use of the new crtridges.

خیال کرتا ہوں کہ شاید مسلمان پلٹنوں کو کارتوس جدید کاٹنے میں بھی کچھ عذر نہ ہوتا۔

فوج ہندوستانی کا نہایت مغرور ہو جانا اور اس کے سبب

The pride of the Indian forces and its causes.

فوج انگلشیہ کے کم ہونے سے رعایا کو بھی جو کچھ خوف تھا وہ صرف ہندوستانی ہی فوج کا تھا، علاوہ اس کے ہندوستانی فوج کو بھی بے انتہا غرور تھا وہ اپنے سوا کسی کو نہیں دیکھتے تھے۔ فوج انگلشیہ کی کچھ حقیقت نہیں سمجھتے تھے۔ تمام ہندوستان کی فتوحات صرف اپنی تلوار کے زور سے جانتے تھے ان کا یہ قول تھا کہ برما سے لے کر کابل تک ہم نے سرکار کو فتح کر دیا ہے۔ علی الخصوص پنجاب کی فتح کے بعد ہندوستانی فوج کا غرور بہت زیادہ ہو گیا تھا۔ اب ان کے غرور نے یہاں تک نوبت پہنچائی تھی کہ ادنیٰ ادنیٰ بات پر تکرار کرنے پر مستعد تھے میں خیال کرتا ہوں کہ فوج کے غرور اور تکبر کی یہاں تک نوبت پہنچی تھی کہ کچھ عجب نہ تھا کہ وہ کوچ اور مقام پر بھی تکرار کرنے لگتی...

جنوری سنہ ۱۸۵۷ء کے بعد فوج میں صلاح اور پیغام ہونے کہ کارتوس نہ کاٹیں گے

The league of the Indian Army against the use of the new cartridges; formed after January 1857.

ایسے وقت میں کہ جب فوج کا یہ حال تھا اور ان کے سر غرور و تکبر سے بھرے ہوئے تھے اور دل میں یہ جانتے تھے کہ جس بات پر ہم اڑیں گے اور تکرار کریں گے خواہ مخواہ سرکار کو ماننا پڑے گا۔ ان کو نئے کارتوس دیئے گئے جس میں وہ یقین سمجھتے تھے کہ چربی کا میل ہے اور اس کے استعمال سے ہمارا دھرم جاتا رہے گا۔ انہوں نے اس کے کاٹنے سے انکار کیا جب بارک پور کی پلٹن اس جرم میں موقوف ہوگئی اور حکم سنایا گیا تو تمام فوج نہایت رنجیدہ ہوئی کیونکہ وہ یوں سمجھتے تھے کہ بسبب تخلل مذہب کے بارک پور کی پلٹن کا کچھ قصور نہ تھا۔ وہ محض بے قصور اور صرف سرکار کی ناانصافی سے موقوف ہوئی ہے۔ تمام فوج نہایت رنجیدہ تھی کہ ہم نے سرکار کے ساتھ رفاقتیں کیں۔ اپنے سر کٹائے سرکار کو ملک در ملک فتح کر دیئے اور سرکار ہمارے مذہب

پیننے کے در پے ہوئی اور واجبی بات پر موقوف کر دیا۔ اس وقت کچھ فساد نہ ہوا کیونکہ فوج پر بجز موقوفی کے اور کچھ جبر نہ ہوا تھا مگر تمام فوج کے دل میں کچھ تو بسبب یقین ہونے چربی کارتوس میں اور کچھ بسبب رنج موقوفی پلٹن بارک پور کے اور سب سے زیادہ بسبب غرور اور خودبینی اور اس خیال سے کہ جو کچھ ہیں ہم ہیں، مصمم ارادہ ہو گیا کہ ہم میں سے کوئی بھی کارتوس نہیں کاٹنے کا اس میں کچھ ہی ہو پڑے۔ بلاشبہ بعد واقعہ بارک پور آپس میں فوجوں کے خط و کتابت ہوئی پیغام آئے کہ کارتوس جدید کوئی نہ کاٹے اب تک تمام فوج کے دل میں ناراضی اور غصہ تو ہے مگر میری رائے میں ابھی تک کچھ فساد ارادہ نہیں۔

میرٹھ میں سزائے نامناسب کا ہونا اور بسبب رنج اور غرور کے فوج کی سرکشی کرنا

The impropriety of punishing the non commissioned Officers at Meerut, which touched the vanity of the Indian forces.

دفعتاً تقدیر سے کم بخت مئی سنہ ۱۸۵۷ء کی آ گئی۔ میرٹھ میں سپاہ کو بہت سخت سزا دی گئی جس کو ہر ایک عقلمند بہت برا اور ناپسند جانتا ہے۔ اس سزا کا رنج جو کچھ فوج کے دل پر گزرا بیان سے باہر ہے۔ وہ اپنے تمغوں کو یاد کرتے تھے اور بجائے اس کے بیڑیوں اور ہتھکڑیوں کو پہنے ہوئے دیکھ کر روتے تھے۔ وہ اپنی وفاداریوں کا خیال کرتے تھے اور پھر اس کے صلہ میں جو ان کو انعام ملا تھا، دیکھتے تھے اور علاوہ اس کے ان کا بے انتہا غرور جو ان کے سر میں تھا اور جس کے سبب وہ اپنے تئیں ایک بہت ہی بڑا سمجھتے تھے ان کو زیادہ رنج دیتا تھا۔ پھر سب فوج مقیم میرٹھ کو یقین ہو گیا کہ یا ہم کو کارتوس کاٹنا پڑے گا یا یہی دن نصیب ہو گا۔ اسی رنج اور غصہ کی حالت میں دسویں مئی کو فوج سے وہ حرکت سرزد ہوئی کہ شاید اس کا نظیر بھی کسی تاریخ میں نہیں ملنے کا۔ اس فوج کو کیا چارہ رہا تھا اس حرکت کے بعد بجز اس کے کہ جہاں تک ہو سکے مفسدے پورے کرے۔

بعد فساد میرٹھ کے فوج کو گورنمنٹ کا اعتبار نہ رہا

Want of confidence in the Indian forces towars Government, after the occurrences of Meerut.

جہاں جہاں فوج میں یہ خبر پہنچی تمام فوج زیادہ تر رنجیدہ ہوئی میرٹھ کی فوج سے جو حرکت ہوئی تھی، اس سے تمام ہندوستانی فوج نے یقین جان لیا تھا کہ اب سرکار کو ہندوستانی فوج کا اعتبار نہ رہا۔ سرکار وقت پاکر سب کو سزا دے گی اور اس سبب سے تمام فوج کو اپنے افسروں کے فعل اور قول کا اعتبار اور اعتماد نہ تھا سب آپس میں کہتے تھے کہ اس وقت تو یہ ایسی باتیں ہیں جب وقت نکل جائے گا تو یہ سب آنکھیں بدل لیں گے۔ میں بہت معتبر بات کہتا ہوں کہ دہلی میں جو فوج باغی جمع تھی، اس میں سے ہزاروں آدمیوں کو اس بے جا حرکت اور بے فائدہ بغاوت کا رنج تھا۔ وہ روتے تھے اور کہتے تھے کہ ہماری قسمت نے یہ کام ہم سے کروایا پھر بہت افسوس سے کہتے تھے کہ اگر ہم نہ کرتے تو کیا کرتے۔ ایک نہ ایک دن سرکار ہم کو تباہ کر دیتی کیونکہ سرکار کو اب ہندوستانی فوج پر اعتماد نہیں رہا تھا۔ وہ قابو کا وقت جب پاتے ہم کو تباہ کر دیتے۔ ابتدائے غدر میں جبکہ ہنڈن پر فوج کشی کا ارادہ ہوا ہے، ہنوز فوج روانہ نہ ہوئی تھی کہ بعضے آدمیوں کی صاف رائے تھی کہ جس وقت دہلی پر فوج سے لڑائی شروع ہوئی بلاشبہ تمام ہندوستانی فوج بگڑ جائے گی چنانچہ یہی ہوا سبب اس کا یہی تھا کہ فوج سے لڑائی شروع ہونے کے بعد ممکن نہ تھا کہ باقی فوج سرکار سے مطمئن رہتی وہ ضرور سمجھتے تھے کہ جب ہمارے بھائی بندوں کو مار لیں گے تب ہم پر متوجہ ہوں گے اس لئے سب نے فساد پر کمر باندھ لی اور بگڑتے گئے جن کے دل میں کچھ فساد نہ تھا وہ بھی بسبب شامل ہونے فوج کے اس جتھہ سے الگ نہ ہو سکے۔ ہندوستانی رعایا جانتی تھی کہ سرکار کے پاس جو کچھ ہے وہ ہندوستانی فوج ہے۔ جب تمام فوج کا بگڑنا مشہور ہو گیا سب نے سر اٹھایا عملداری کا ڈر دلوں سے جاتا رہا اور سب جگہ فساد برپا ہو

گیا۔

پنجاب میں سرکشی نہ ہونے کے سبب۔

Why the mutiny did not break-out in the Punjab, and its causes.

اب ہماری اس رائے کو پنجاب کے حالات پر تولو پنجاب کے مسلمان بہت ستم رسیدہ تھے۔ سکھوں کے ہاتھ سے سرکاری عملداری سے ان کا چنداں نقصان نہ ہوا تھا۔ سرکار نے پنجاب میں ابتدائے عملداری میں بہت تشدد کیا تھا اور اب دن بدن رفاہ کرتی جاتی تھی۔ برخلاف ہندوستان کے کہ یہاں معاملہ بالعکس تھا۔ ابتدائے عملداری میں تمام ملک کے ہتھیار لے لئے گئے کسی کو قابو فساد کا نہ رہا تھا اگرچہ وہ تمول سکھوں کو جو پہلے تھا، نہ رہا تھا مگر ان کا کمایا ہوا روپیہ جو ان کے پاس جمع تھا، ابھی خرچ نہ ہو چکا تھا اور وہ مفلسی جو ہندوستان میں تھی، وہاں ابھی نہیں آئی تھی۔ اس کے سوا تین سبب اور بہت قوی تھے جو پنجاب نہ بگڑا اول یہ کہ فوج انگلشیہ وہاں موجود تھی، دوسرے یہ کہ وہاں کے حکام کی ہوشیاری سے دفعتاً بے خبری میں ہندوستانی فوج کے ہتھیار لے لئے گئے۔ بسبب طغیانی اور کثرت سے واقع ہونے دریاؤں اور بند ہو جانے گھاٹوں کے ہندوستانی فوج بے قابو ہو گئی۔ فوج کا فساد برپا نہ ہو سکا۔ تیسرے یہ کہ تمام سکھ اور پنجابی اور پٹھان جن سے احتمال فساد تھا سرکار میں نوکر ہو گئے اور لوٹ کا لالچ اس پر مزید تھا۔ جو بات رعایا ہندوستان اور روزگار پیشہ کو باغیوں کے ہاں بمشکل اور بذلت حاصل ہوتی تھی، وہ اہل پنجاب کو سرکار کے ہاں بعزت و بلاوقت نصیب تھا۔ پھر حالات پنجاب کے ہندوستان کے حالات سے بالکل مخالف تھے۔

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نقل اشتہار

دریں نزدیکی بسمع مبارک نواب معلٰی القاب لفٹنٹ گورنر بہادر بنگال چناں رسیدہ کہ بعضے اشخاص ازراہ تعصب و نادانی محض برائے حیرانی و پریشانی جمہور خلایق چند سخنان بے اصل و نالایق منعلق بمذہب و ملت و رسم و طریقت ہنود و مسلمانان چنان مشہور و اعلان کردہ اند کہ باستماع خطرات پر خطر در دل مردمان جاکردہ جناب نواب لفٹنٹ گورنر بہادر را بسیار حیرت و حسرت است کہ سکنہ ایں ملک حقیقت حال را دریافت نکردہ صرف بافساد مفسدان چرا خود را زیربار تشویش میکند لاجرم بذریعہ اشتہار عام حقیقت نفس الامری اختراعات کہ بگوش حقیقت نیوش نواب محتشم الیہ در آمدہ مشتہر کردہ میشود تاکافہ انام برحقیقت حال وا رسند و بیقین معلوم نمایند کہ سرکار بہادر را نوعے درملت و مذہب و طریق و رسم و راہ رعایا مداخلت و مزاحمت نیست و آیندہ را نیز نخواہد بود بلکہ حفاظت جان و مال و عزت حرمت اینان پیش نہاد است و مساعی جمیلہ درینباب بکارمے آید و آمدنی است۔

اول اینکہ بعضے پادریان کلکتہ بطریق طریقہ و وظیفہ معمولی خود افراد سوال دربارہ مذہب و ملت بطریق مناظرہ و مباحثہ جاپ کردہ ملفوف بلفا فہا عموماً پیش ہندوستانیان فرستادہ و آنہا از غلط فہمی خود انکاشتند کہ انچناں مضامین باشارہ سرکار ابد پائدار بظہور رسیدہ حالانکہ سرکار بہادر را ازاں ہیچکونہ اطلاعے واگاہی نیست و نیز ہرگز و برآئینہ شان سرکار عالی اقتدار چناں

نبوده که ترغیب و تحریص کسے از رعایا بسرے ملت و دین خود فرماید چه ظاہر است که رعایاے ایں ملک بر قسم مردم اند و ملت و مذهب و کیشن و آئین جدا گانه میدارند و رقبه ایشان تحت ربقه اقتدار سرکار والا اقتدار است و نظر لطف و کرم برحال آنها مساوی و یکساں است باوجود امتداد مدت سلطنت سرکار ابد پائدار هیچ وقتے مزاحمت و تعرض کیش و ملت کدامی اہل اسلام و دیگر مذہب بعمل نیامده وپادری صاحبان اینقسم امور از طرف خود اجرا میکنند و اینهه گویا لوازمه عادات معمولی شان است چنانکه مسلمانان و هنودان درمساجد و معابد وعظ و نصایح میکنند و اظهار و ابراز امورات شرعی و ترغیب بطاعت و اجتناب از نواحی میسازند و اگر تامل کرده شود صاف واضح شود که ایں معینی سخنے نو وامرے جدید نیست بلکه طریق مناظره و مباحثه درمیان علماے مختلف المذاهب بموارہ جاریست و از همچو امورات سرکار بهادر راهیچ علاقه نیست۔

دوم اینکه در بعض اخبار اخبار کرده و در عوام نیز شهرت یافته است که بالفعل از طرف سرکار آنچناں قوانین جاری شدنی است که ازاں رسم تعزیه داری و مراسم ختنه و پرده نشینی زنان شرفا وغیره احکامات شرع و شاستر برافتند و یکسر موقوف گردد حالانکه اینهم غلط است و افتراے محض سرکار بهادر را درراه و رسم وکیش و مذهب کدامیی کس دست اندازی منظور نیست بلکه ایں معنی برخلاف طریقه رعیت پروری که سجیه مرضیه سرکار بهادر است بوده است۔

سیوم اینکه صاحب سپرنڈنت جهلخانه بعضے اضلاع بلا اطلاع و واقفیت سرکار والا اقتدار حکم سنیده گرفتن ظروف اکل و شرب از قیدیان بخیال و تصور تفرقه و امتیاز در مصایب قید و راحت خانه صادر کرده بوذ لیکن سرکار بهادر را معلوم گردید که ایں امرا نقصانے است در مذهب آناں و از لا علمی مهتمم جهلخانه آنچناں حکم صادر گردیده علی الفور بسبیل ڈاک برقی حکم محکم موقوفی آن صادر

گشت۔

چهارم اینکه بسمع معدلت مجتمع در آمد که ۔سکنه ایں مملکت بنائے اسکول و اسباب علوم و تحصیل فنون و ترویج زبان انگریزی را اسباب تبدیل ملت و تخریب بنائے دین و مذهب مے پندارند و ازینجاست که بسے از مردمان در تحصیل علم و تکمیل فنون تعلل و تهاون مے کنند و بعض اشخاص بفرستادن اطفال در اسکول مضائقه میدارند ظاهرا منشائے آن جزنا فهمی و بیدانشی نیست والا اصل ایں است که هر گاه بحضور سرکار والا اقتدار متحقق گردید که رعایائے ایں مملکت بسبب بیعلمی وبے هنری از طریقه کسب معاش چناں بے خبراند که از اوقات گذاری خودها باراحت و آسایش معذور اند لاجرم بحکم والائے جناب ملکه انگلستان که ازراه تفضلات خسروانه صدور یافت برائے تعلیم و ترتیب آنها باهتمام تمام و صرف مالا کلام کزهریک اضلاع و امصار مدارس اسکول و کالج بنا کردید و درهر ضلع صاحبان بعهده انسپکٹر و به نیابت شاں متعدد هندوستانی برائے طریقه تربیت معین گشتند و برائے درس و تدریس و تعلیم کسب و علوم و فنون زبان انگریزی وغیره آں تاکید مزید شد تا باشندکان ایں ملک عموماً از جهل وبے دانشی ولرسته بتحصیل علم و دانش بخوبی تحصیل معاش نمایند واز تنگنائے تنگی و عسرت بر آمده بامسرت و عشرت صرف اوقات خودها نمایند۔

مخفی نیست که باشندکان ملک یورپ یعنے ولایت انگلشیه باعث تحصیل علوم هرگونه امورات را از رسائی عقل رسائے خود بخوبیهائے تمام انجام میدهند بخلاف اهالی اینڈیار که باعث بیعلمی و بیدانشی بے سلیقه محض اند اگر علم و هنر و فهم و دانش در بیاں شایع گردد هریکی لوازمه آسایش و آرام را جامع شود و تشریف شاهی راکماعی نذر یافتن و نیکی را بجائے خود حمل نکردن چه قدر افسوس و حسرت است که بشرح نمے آید جناب لفٹنٹ گورنر بهادر

چناں قیاس میفرمایند که بنائے ایں همه خیالات فاسده براه غلط فهمی است نه از روئے تعصب و بد باطنی باید دانست که غرض سرکار به تربیت و تعلیم انگریزی آں نیست که حرفے بردین و آئین شاں در آید بلکه هرکس مجاز است که بر علم و هنر که مرغوب و مطبوع باشد و باعث فائده داند بتحصیل آں پردازد مگر اینهم دانستنی است که بالفعل بزبان انگریزی کتب و رسایل هر فن موجود است و همیشه تجربه هائے مجدد و اختراعات نوبنو بر روئے کار مے آیند که بزبان دیگر حاصل نیست و زبان انگریزی زبان والی ملک و صاحب سلطنت است و درعدالت ها باعث افهام و تفهم عوام زبان مروجه ایں ملک جاریست دریں صورت تحصیل و تکمیل زبان انگریزی و اردو و بنگله از برائے حصول معاش و ترقیات حرمت و عزت و اقبال بلاشک است و از واجبات است۔

مخفی مباد که از او انیکه نواب معلی القاب لفننٹ گورنر بهادر احوال ایں دیار را بچشم خود دیده واز اکثر اشخاص شنیده همت والا نهمت محتشم الیه بفکر و درستی ارضاع باشندکان ایں ملک و بایجاد طریق تعلیم و تربیت و آرام و آسایش در حفظ عزت و حرمت هریک عموماً مصروف است و از غایت مهربانی و دلسوزی اصلاح حال شرفا و نجبا و زمیندران و رعایان خصوصاً مد نظر است۔

لهذا اشتهار داده مے آید که همکنان سکنه ایں ملک بر نیک نیتی و بلند همتی سرکار والا اقتدار واقف و مطلع بوده شکر خدا بجا آرند و باطمینان تمام اوقات خودها بسر کرده بدعائے درام دولت ابد مدت سرکار دولت مدار مصروف باشند۔

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan

CAUSE OF THE INDIAN REVOLT

Compiled and edited
Salim al-Din Quraishi

Three Essays

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PREFACE

This Volume brings together, for the first time Sir Syed's three previously unpublished Essays on the Causes of the Indian Revolt. The first is a hand-written essay which Sir Syed sent to the Secretary of State for India just after Queen Victoria's famous proclamation of 1 November, 1858.

Sir Syed explains that his purpose in writing this essay is "to reflect upon the primary causes of these disturbances and to advance true grounds for the veracity of my own statement. "At the same time he expresses his satisfaction at the "Complete remedy of each primary cause of the rebellion" achieved by the government.

Sir Syed claims that he is sending this essay to the Secretary of State India "on the supposition that no native of Hindustan has written on the subject" and that there is "room for hoping that it will be well for the opinion of one such person too, to be kept on record."

However, Sir Syed seems to have been unaware of the fact that the Government had meanwhile asked a number of other native officials and munshis to write their opinions on the subject. Amongst those whose views are now preserved in the official records of the Government, include Munshi Jeewan Lal', Munshi Kedar Nath and Munshi Mohan Lal. The most detailed statements amongst these are, The thoughts of a native of northern India on the Rebellion, its causes and remedies, printed in London in 1858 and Munshi Mohan Lal's Causes, rise, and progress of the Mutiny and Rebellion submitted to Brigadier Chamberlain on 11th November 1857.

Sir Syed is, however, the only Muslim to put forward an Indian and specifically Muslim point of view on this subject. All other submissions are by Hindu/authors and were written mainly to exonerate the Hindu community and to convince the Government of their loyalty. For example when a British official asked the opinion of an educated Hindu on the causes of Indian revolt his reply was "the gross wrongs inflicted on Nana Sahib; the injustice done to Kunwar Singh; the injuries inflicted on the Rani of Jhansi; the seizure of the Kingdom of Oudh; the fraudulent embezzlement perpetrated with to the Rao of Kirwi, and scores of lesser wrongs done in the reckless regard to the landowners under the administration of the North-west provinces" insolence [Kaye and Mallesson History of the Indian Mutiny, London 1889 p. 282].

The second work included in this volume is the original and hither to unpublished version of Sir Syed's "Essay on the causes of the Indian Revolt". it was originally printed for Sir Syed in 1859. However, because of the Government proscription on such publications all copies, except the one now surviving in the official files of the India Office Records, seems to have been destroyed. Altaf Hussain Hali, in his biography of Sir Syed, Hayat-i-Javed (Agra, 1903, pp. 73-76) gives us a detailed account of this work.

"Sir Syed had perhaps started writing this essay soon after he arrived in Moradabad. As soon as it was complete, without waiting for it to be translated into English, he sent the Urdu text to Mofussilite Gazette Press in Agra for printing. He received five hundred copies from the press in 1859. When his friends came to know about his decision to send copies of this work to the Parliament and to the Government of India they strongly advised him against this. Master Shankar Das, younger brother of Master Ram Chandar who was a judge in Moradabad and a close friend of Sir Syed advised him not to risk his life and to burn all the copies at once. Sir Syed's response was that he had written the essay keeping the best interest of the Government and those of the country and the people in mind and that the regarded it his duty to bring this to the notice of the Government even if it resulted in some harm to himself

When Rae Shankar Das saw that Sir Syed was very determined he, with tears in his eyes, kept quiet. Sir Syed first offered his prayers and then posted a parcel containing a few less than five hundred copies to England. He also sent one copy to the Government of India and kept a few copies for himself. When it was received by the Government of India and a translation was presented to the Council, Lord Canning, the Governor General and Sir Bartle Frere, who was a member of the Council considered it the work of a sympathiser. However, Cecil-Beadon, who was foreign Secretary at that time made a long speech against it and accused Sir Syed of writing a seditious essay. He recommended that Sir Syed should be reprimanded for writing it and if he was unable to provide a satisfactory explanation he should be severely punished."

"A few days later Lord Canning held a Durbar in Farrukhabad and Sir Syed was also invited to attend. Here he came across Cecil-Beadon, Foreign Secretary to the Government of India. When Cecil-Beadon learned that Sir Syed was the author of the Essay on the Causes of the Indian Revolt he asked him to come and see him the next day. During their meeting Cecil-Beadon expressed his concern over the publication of such a work and had some harsh words with Sir Syed on this subject, telling him that if he had written such an essay with the welfare of the Government in mind he would not have had it published and distributed in the country but would have expressed his views privately to the Government alone. Sir Syed replied that he had only five hundred copies printed. Except for a few copies kept by him and one copy sent to the Government of India, the rest were sent to England. He had kept a receipt to prove it. He knew that because of their anger and hate the judgement of the British officials was impaired and they considered even a right thing as wrong. That is why he had neither distributed any copies in India nor shown one to any Englishman. He had sent only one copy to the Government. He challenged anyone to produce even a single copy of this work in India and he would pay him one thousand rupees for each copy produced. Mr. Cecil-Beadon, however was not convinced and he subsequently kept on enquiring from Sir Syed if there was

any copies of the work available in India. After some time, when he was fully convinced that there was no copy available in India he became a friend and a sympathiser of Sir Syed' [Translated from urdu]

Later on the work was translated into English and published by Sir Syed's two English friends, G.F.I. Graham and Sir Auckland Colvin in 1873. In its Preface Sir Syed explains his purpose in publishing this translation as; An honest exposition of native ideas is all that our Government requires to enable it to hold the country with the full concurrence of its inhabitants and not merely by the sowrd."

With regards to the contents and value of this work Graham in his *Life and works of Syed Ahmed Khan* (London, 1885) comments; Although some of us may not agree with Syed Ahmed's Causes of the Indian Revolt, the Pamphlet is exceedingly valuable, as giving us an insight into the native modes of thought, and as written by the ablest of our loyal Mohammedan gentlemen (pp. 32-33)

Sir Syed's main purpose in writing this essay and in submitting nearly five hundred copies to the British Parliament was not only to put forward what he believed were the true cause of the discontentment of the natives but also to convince the Government that the revolt was no more than "localized disturbances organized by robbers and dacoits, some of the minor chiefs of Cawnpore, Bignor, Bareilly and Farrukhabad and some of the Muslims remained loyal to the British Government.

Hali, a great friend and associate of Sir Syed further on explains the reasons for writing this essay;

"As all the articles, essay. and books published by the British on this subject were against Muslims it made Sir Syed very anxio and concerned. Muslims w re accused by some that they hated the E glish because of their religion, while other believed that because of Shah Nian ullah Walis predictions all Muslims were convinced that the British was coming to an end. Most of all they all accused Muslims that their religion permitted Jihad or Holy wa. against

Christians and because of this Muslims were in the forefront of the rebellion. Sir Syed took up this responsibility on himself to convince the British that all these accusations were baseless and were the result of miscomprehension and that the sacrifices made by the Muslims for the Government were in many ways much more than by any other community (Hayat-i-Javed, Agra, 1903 pp. 73-76. Translated from Urdu.)

Unlike the commonly available version of the *Asbab-i-Baghavat-i-Hind* the present copy, in addition to the Urdu text, includes a preface, detailed list of contents, summaries of paragraphs, as well as text of "Mr. Edmonds letter addressed to the educated natives of India" in English.

This work was rendered into English by Sir Syed's two English friends G.F Graham and Sir Auckland Colvin and published from Benares in 1873. Because of its importance and to make Sir Syed's all known writings on the causes of the revolt accessible to researcher in one place this work is also included in this volume.

The next item in this volume is an autograph letter of Sir Syed, addressed to Sir John Kaye. It is dated 14 December 1869 and was sent from 21 Mecklenburgh Square, London, where Sir Syed was staying along with his two sons, Syed Hamid and Syed Mahmud between May 1869 and October 1870. During his stay in London Sir Syed was a frequent visitor to the India Office where he met Sir John Kaye who was at that time Secretary in the Political and Secret Department and was engaged in writing an official history of the Indian Mutiny. In addition to consulting Sir Syed's *Causes of the Indian Revolt* Sir John Kaye had sought Sir Syed's advice on various other matters and in this *History of the Sepoy War in India (London, 1872-1876)* quotes the text of a letter he had received from Sir Syed explaining the custom of succession in the Royal family of Delhi. (Vol. 2 pp. 24, 685)

Another letter from Sir Syed addressed to Kaye is preserved in the mutiny volume of the *Home Miscellaneous Series* of the India Office Records.

This letter was written in reply to Kaye's letter of 30 November 1869 in which Kaye had expressed his opinion that "*the 1857 rebellion was much more than a mere military mutiny* and had asked Sir Syed's opinion "*as to the extent that it grew into a popular rebellion.*" Sir Syed's reply reveals some important changes in his views from those expressed in his *Causes of the Indian Revolt*. Whereas in his work he had clearly stated that there was no definition of the word mutiny which did not apply to the rebellion of 1857, here in this letter he argues against calling it a military mutiny. Similarly his views about the spread of the mutiny in the N.W. Provinces seems contrary to what he had expressed in the above-mentioned work, whose very title *Causes of the Indian Revolt* implies that it was much more than "localized disturbances organized by robber and dacoits, some of the minor chiefs."

The publication of these three documents will, I am sure add significantly to our understanding of Sir Syed's views on the causes of the 1857 Rebellion.

Finally, I must express my gratitude to my wife Margarita Maura & my son Yusuf for typing the manuscript.

Salim al Din Quraishi.

London.
12 March 1994.

AN ESSAY ON THE CAUSES OF THE INDIAN REVOLT, BY SAIYID AHMAD KHAN, PRINCIPAL SADR AMIN OF MURADABAD

In the name of the most merciful and compassionate God!
Dependence and humility became the creature
To forgive his creature is the part of God
If I do that which becomes me not
Do than to all that is suitable to thee

With regard to the original causes of the rebellion in Hindustan, which I have set forth in my essay on that subject, although my heart was desirous to erase them now from the page of existence, nay to obliterate them from mine own mind, in as much as the proclamation which has been promulgated by Her Majesty Queen Victoria (may Her Empire be perpetuated) is in fact the complete remedy of each primary cause of the rebellion, and indeed, the writers of the causes of the rebellion on beholding the purport of that Proclamation, let the pens drop from their hands, and all feel it be unnecessary to make a diagnosis of these causes now, because their complete remedy has been exhibited, nevertheless to reflect upon the primary causes of the disturbances, and to advance true grounds for the veracity of my own statements, is in my opinion a strong proof of my attachment to the Government. Therefore, although the things which have occasioned the rebellion have been well remedied, it is still incumbent upon me to publish those which I know. It is true that persons of great wisdom and experience have written on the causes of this rebellion, but on the supposition that no native of Hindustan has written on the subject, there is room for hoping that it will be well for the opinion of one such person too, to be left on record.

SUBJECT

What was the cause of the rebellion in Hindustan?

Answer: In answering this question it is first incumbent upon us to define rightly what is the meaning of rebellion: - viz whether it be the opposing our Government, or taking part with those who oppose it, or to disregard and disobey orders with a rebellious spirit, or unconsciously to violate the rights and limits of the government:-for example:

1st-As servant or subject fighting and opposing his Government.

2nd-Or disregarding and disobeying orders in a rebellious spirit.

3rd-Or his aiding and abetting rebels.

4th-Or subjects audaciously fighting amongst themselves and violating the fixed limits of Government.

5th-Or the not entertaining in their hearts affection and loyalty towards their Government, and not aiding with it in times of calamity.

In the critical year 1857 which has just past, there is not one of all these kinds of rebellion which has not existed, nay there will be found but very few men, being persons of remarkable wisdom, who are clear of the last kind of disaffection. Moreover as this last kind is but little openly manifested, it is substantially abundantly common.

The one sole cause of rebellious intent arising in the heart is the occurrences of things which are opposed to the dispositions and temperaments, and purposes and resolves and customs and habits and characters and natures of those who become rebels.

From this statement it is proved that no special thing can be the cause of a general rebellion. Aye of a general rebellion, either something as general may be the cause which is opposed to the feelings of all, or various matters may be the cause of which some one thing is repugnant to the feelings of another party, and thus by degrees a general disaffection is brought about.

In the rebellion of 1857 this very thing was the case that many causes had for a long time been collected in the minds of the people, and a very great magazine has been formed and all that remained was that it should be hastily kindled, which was done last year by the rebellion of the troops.

With regard to the distribution of chapatis, and the breaking out of the rebellion shortly afterwards, although at that time, cholera was epidemic throughout all Hindustan, and it may be thought that this contrivance was adopted as an antidote to the cholera, as a charm against it, in as much as ignorant natives of Hindustan very often practise this kind of charm, yet the truth is, the original cause of the distribution has not yet been divulged, but there is no doubt that the chapatis could not have been the foundation of a conspiracy.

It is certainly customary for a thing of this nature to be a taken to test the truth of a message, and it is notorious that no verbal message was sent with the chapatis; had a message been sent, it is impossible that it could have remained concealed inspite of its being so widely promulgated and to spread amongst people of every tribe and every disposition. The manners in which the rebellion spread throughout Hindustan, and hurried from this place to that and from that place to this is a clear proof that there was no conspiracy in the first instance.

To suppose that the rebellion in Hindustan originated from a conspiracy in which Russia and Persia were implicated is a most unfounded idea. How could the people of Hindustan conspire with those in Russia when the views of the Russians are altogether unknown to them. The Persians could never conspire with the Hindoos, for the Muhammadans of Hindustan and the Persians to agree, is as impossible as for the Protestants and Roman Catholics. If it be possible for the day and night to be united at one time then truly it is possible for this confederacy to take place. The strange thing is that when war was being carried between England and the Russians and Persians nothing took place in Hindustan, and when disaffection arose

Hindustan nothing took place in these countries, and yet they should be thought to be confederates with India.

Not a word of the proclamation which, as is well known, was found in the tent of a Persian prince, alludes to a conspiracy with Hindustan; its contents refer only to encouragements of the people of his own country. The mention of the evil state of affairs in Hindustan is only introduced to show that the Persian ought to be more prepared to fight and there is no hint at any confederacy with India having been concluded.

There is nothing strange in the circumstances of the deposed King of Delhi writing a Farman to Persia. The condition of the deposed King of Delhi was such that if it has been said to him that the *King of the genie in fairy-land is your Majesty's servant*, he would have believed it true; and not to say one Farman, would have written ten. The deposed King of Delhi was always fancying that he was being transformed into a fly or mosquito and going and getting information about different nations and countries and he believed in his own mind that this thing was really the case, and used to ask his courtiers to attest it and they all did attest it. It is not to be wondered at then, if such a lunatic wrote any Farman at anybody's suggestion, but it is not be supposed that any such Farman formed the basis of a conspiracy in any manner whatever. Does it not seem surprising that there should be so great a conspiracy and that it should have endured so long and our authorities have been altogether unacquainted with it, and that after the revolt no rebel either soldier or civilian should have made mention of any kind of conspiracy although after the revolt they would not have been withheld by fear from mentioning it.

We are not to suppose that the annexation of Awadh either was cause of this rebellion; there is indeed no doubt that all people were displeased with the annexation of Awadh and all were convinced that the Honorable East India Company had acted in violation of treaties and promises. In general the dissatisfaction of the people with the annexation of Awadh was of the same description as it always was

when the Company conquered any country, mention of which will be made hereafter. To the princes of Delhi and to the Chiefs themselves who ruled in Hindustan the fear and alarm and dissatisfaction were still greater; all were fully persuaded that the dominions and powers and governments of all would be similarly seized upon; nevertheless we see that there was not a single rebel amongst the ruling chiefs, those who joined in this rebellion were mostly people whose countries had been taken from them; the cases of the Nawab of Jhajhar and of the Rajah of Balabgarh and of others are not to be cited against this opinion.

Nor is it to be imagined with reference to this rebellion that all people of Hindustan united in rebellion through feeling of grief and regret that a foreign nation and stranger tribe has got possession of the ancient empire of the Hindustani people. It is to be remembered that the rule of our government did not shoot up suddenly in Hindustan but was gradually developed. It's beginning is reckoned from the year 1757, from the time of the defeat of Sirajud-daulah at Plassey. Shortly after that period the hearts of all the people and subjects were attracted towards our government, and bearing continually the good qualities and excellencies, the mercifulness and liberality and steadfastness as regards agreements and carefulness? Of the general welfare shown by the government officers and the peacefulness and repose which prevailed under them. The officers both Hindoo and Muslaman who resided contiguously to our government entertained the wish that they might dwell under the shadow of the rule of our government. The kings of foreign countries were reposing entire confidence in our government and considered the treaties and agreements which they had formed with our government to be sure to be maintained inviolate and as durable as though written on stone. Although our Govt. has become vastly powerful as compared with what it was at first and on the contrary not a tenth of the power is left to the native princes and governors and rulers which they first had, and although in, those days our government waged many wars with every tribe of Hindustan, both Hindoos and Musalman and was invariably victorious so that all the natives of Hindustan were persuaded that our government would one day overspread

all India and that all the people of India whether Hindoos or Moslem would one day be governed by it. Notwithstanding all this there never was any rebellion or resistance to our government and no mention of any such rebellion occurs in any of the histories. If therefore the rebellion had proceeded from the cause we have mentioned above then there must needs have been some example in those times of similar revolts and this the rather as in those times there was greater opportunity for such a rebellion, for example-during the war of 1839 when nevertheless there was no sort of rebellion in Hindustan. Although for centuries India had been under the sway of the kings of those very countries with whom the government was then at war and although the appearance of the Moslems in India and their rise to power was owing to the kings of those very countries. It is therefore not supposable that the Moslems would have raised this rebellion through pain at seeing their sovereignty taken from them.

Not a single person was desirous of seeing the government of the deposed King of Delhi restored. The folly and profligacy of this family had subverted its character and dignity in the eyes of all - it is true that the people of distant districts who are unacquainted with the condition and ill conduct and estimation and authority of the king still thought a great deal of him and regarded him as the King in Hindustan and the Honorable East India Company as the superintendent of Hindustan under him but the inhabitant of Delhi itself and of the adjacent country had no respect whatever for the King, and besides all this no sensation had been caused to any of the people of India by the Kings deposition. It will be remembered that when in the year 1827, lord Amhurst publicly announced that his government was entirely independent of the House of Timur and moreover was itself the king of Hindustan, then the people and the rulers of India gave no heed whatever to the circumstances it was only to the Royal family themselves that this was a circumstance of pain.

It is very unfounded idea that the Moslems had for a long time conspired and confederated together for the purpose of carrying on a Jihad or holy war against the

people of other religions and of freeing themselves from their rule. In as much as the Moslems were living securely under our government it was quite impossible for them to raise a Jihad within the territories of the government (35 years before a very celebrated maulavi Muhammad Ismail had preached a Jihad in Hindustan and invited all men to engage in that holy war, but he, at that time clearly announced that the inhabitants of Hindustan who were remaining at peace under the English government ought not to engage in the Jihad in India wherefore thousands of combatants in the holy war assembled in every province in India and caused no disturbances whatever in the dominions of the English Government, but went to the West of the Punjab and there fough; and this which is called a Jihad the leaders of which in each province are low and ignorant people; even then the agreement and compact which lead to it did not take place before the 10th of May 1857.

We must bear in mind that at this period the people who set up the flag of the holy war were so bad and disrespectable and depraved that they had no other business but were drinking and libertinism and the nach and entertainment. Now how could such people be considered the leaders and guides in a holy war. Moreover at this time there was not a single thing done in accordance with religious duties. All are aware that for the servants of Government to dishonestly appropriate the treasure and property of the government committed to their charge and thus to break their faith was not right in a religious point of view. It is also quite manifest that according to the rules of the religion it is prodigious crime to put innocent persons to death, especially women and children and old people; then how could these disturbances have the excuse of a holy war. Without doubt indeed some villains pretended to call it a holy war, in order that they might gratify their own avarices and advantage themselves and obtain their own desires and that they might deceive the ignorant and encourage their own party. This is merely one of the rescalities of the wicked rebels and does not make the war, in fact a holy one.

The fatwa or declaration of a holy war which was printed at Delhi has been thought to be a strong proof of

their having been such a war, but I have heard one good authority and many proofs may be adduced of it that it is altogether a counterfeit. I have heard that when the mutinous army marched from Meerut to Delhi some person asked for a decree for a holy war, but a unanimous decree was given that no such war could take place. Although I have seen a copy of this first decree yet as the original decree is lost I am unable to say how far the copy can be depended upon; but when the Bareilly troops reached Delhi, and a decree was given a second time the nature which is well known and wherein it was written that it is lawful to commence a holy war that was undoubtedly not a genuine decree, the man who printed it was a rebel, and one long known to be of bad character, and he attached to it the names of people in order to deceive and mislead the ignorant; and having printed these names he thus gave an air of importance to it. Moreover he printed on it the half-seal of a person who had died before the rebellion, moreover it is well known that many persons were compelled forcibly and violently by the mutinous troops from Bareilly and the traitors along with them to affix their seals.

There was a very large number of maulavis in Delhi and of their followers who in religious point of view regarded the deposed King of Delhi as a very wicked and heretical person. Their belief was that prayers could not rightly be offered in those mosques at Delhi where the king had possession and the power of interference or management; these persons accordingly would not pray in the Cathedral mosques, and decrees on this subject printed long anterior to the rebellion are in existence. Can any reasonable man then assent to this that the very persons whose seals were upon decrees of this nature would have decreed that a Jihad could rightly have been commenced and that the King was to have been made leader. Of those persons whose seals are stamped upon the decree several protected Christians, and defended their lives and honor, not one of them fought against the English nor resisted them-how would they have acted thus had the facts been as they are public supposed. In short my opinion is that the Moslems never entertain the idea of uniting to wage a holy war against rulers of a

different religion, or of raising a tumult amongst the ignorant and disaffected with the cry of a holy war! holy war and after uttering this religious shout that they should draw back is altogether unworthy of beliet. With regard indeed to the extent to which the Moslems were discontented we shall explain that clearly hereafter. Of this there is no doubt that in comparison with the Hindoos the Moslems were more discontented on this subject and every other; and this is the reason that in several Provinces the Moslems have been more rebellious than the Hindoos, though the Provinces in which the Hindoos have rebelled, have not been few.

It is by no means the case that there was any antecedent conspiracy or plan in the army to rebel. It is quite certain that after the army had broken out in revolt, they never spoke of such a conspiracy amongst themselves; we must grant however that after what took place at Bararrackpore and especially at the time when men were assembled from different regiments to learn the new drill in the Panjab, they agreed among themselves never to use the new cartridges, but even at that time there was no ulterior purpose or design of any kind. Moreover they felt assured that the government would put a stop to this matter, although it was stopped nevertheless from stopping it after the 10 of May 1857, no advantage resulted towards suppressing the revolt and the conflagration was not of a kind which could be extinguished by such counsels.

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An Essay on the Causes of the Indian Revolt. by Saiyid Ahmad Khán Principal Sadr Amín of Muradábád

In the name of the most merciful and compassionate God!

Dependence and humility become the creature
To forgive his creature is the part of God —
If I do that which becomes me not,
Do thou do all which is suitable to thee.

With regard to the original causes of the rebellion in Hindústán, which I have set forth in my Essay on that subject, although my heart was desirous to erase them now from the page of existence, nay, to obliterate them from mine own mind; inasmuch as the Proclamation which has been promulgated by Her Majesty Queen Victoria (may Her Empire ~~be perpetuated~~) is in fact the complete remedy of each primary cause of the rebellion and, indeed, the writers of the causes of the rebellion on beholding the

perfect

purport of that Proclamation, let the pens drop from their hands, and all feel it to be unnecessary to make a diagnosis of these causes now, because their complete remedy has been exhibited, nevertheless to reflect upon the primary causes of these disturbances, and to adduce true grounds for the veracity of my own statements, is in my opinion a strong proof of my attachment to the Govt. Wherefore, although the things which have occasioned the rebellion have been well remedied, it is still incumbent upon me to publish those which I know. It is true that persons of great wisdom and experience have written on the causes of this rebellion, but, on the supposition that no Native of Hindustan has written on the subject, there is room for hoping that it will be well for the opinion of one such person too, to be left on record.

Subject

What was the cause of the rebellion in Hindustan?

Answer

Definition of rebellion as amplified with instances.

In answering this question it is first incumbent upon us to define rightly what is the meaning of rebellion:- viz: whether it be the opposing our Government or taking part with those who oppose it, or to disregard and disobey orders with a rebellious spirit, or to audaciously violate the rights and limits of Government:- for example

1st A servant or subject's fighting and opposing his Government.

2nd Or disregarding and disobeying orders in a rebellious spirit.

3d Or his aiding and abetting rebels.

4th Or subjects audaciously fighting amongst themselves and violating the fixed limits of Government.

5th Or the not entertaining in their hearts affection and loyalty towards their Government, and not siding with it in times of calamity.

In the critical year 1857 which has just past, there is not one of all these kinds of rebellions which has not existed, nay there will be found but very few men, being persons of remarkable wisdom, who are cle...

the last kind of disaffection. Moreover as this last kind is but little openly manifested, it is substantially abundantly common.

Why it is resorted to:

The one sole cause of rebellions is intent arising in the heart at the occurrence of things which are opposed to the dispositions and temperaments, and purposes and resolves, and actions and habits, and characters and natures, of those who become rebels.

From this statement it is proved that no special thing can be the cause of a general rebellion. Cause of a general rebellion, either something as general may be the cause which is opposed to the feelings of all, or various matters may be the causes, of which one thing is repugnant to the feelings of some one, and another thing to the feelings of one party, and another party, and thus by degrees a general disaffection is brought about.

The rebellion of did not originate from a single but from a variety of causes.

In the rebellion of 1857, this very thing was the case. that many causes had for a long time been collected in the minds of the people; and a very great magazine had been formed, and all that

that remained was that it should be readily kindled, which was done last year by the rebellion of the troops.

Re distribution of Chapatis not designed for [illegible] object.

With regard to the distribution of Chapatis; and the breaking out of the rebellion shortly afterwards, although, at that time, Cholera was epidemic throughout all Hindustan; and it may be thought that this contrivance was adopted as an antidote to the Cholera, as a charm against it, inasmuch as ignorant natives of Hindustan very often practise this kind of charm, yet the truth is, the original cause of the distribution has not yet been divulged; but there is no doubt that the Chapatis could not have been the foundation of a conspiracy.

Not the foundation of a conspiracy [illegible] the means for testing [illegible] that the information [illegible] received

It is certainly customary for a thing of this nature to be at times to test the truth of a message; and it is notorious that no verbal message was sent with the Chapatis: had a message been sent, it is impossible that it could have remained concealed in spite of its being so widely promulgated, and to spread amongst people of every tribe and every disposition. The

messages

in which the rebellion spread throughout Hindústán, and hurried from this place to that and from that place to this, is a clear proof that there was no conspiracy in the first instance.

Russia & Persia not altogether a league in the matter.

To suppose that the rebellion in Hindústán originated from a conspiracy in which Russia and Persia were implicated is a most unfounded idea. How could the people of Hindustan conspire with those of Russia when the views of the Russians are altogether unknown to them. The Persians could never conspire with the Hindoos for the Muhammadans of Hindústán and the Persians to agree, is as impossible as for the Protestants and Roman Catholics. If it be possible for the day and night to be united at one time then truly it is possible for this confederacy to take place. The strange thing is that when war was being carried between England and the Russians and Persians nothing took place in Hindústán, and when disaffection arose in Hindústán

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nothing took place in those countries and yet they should be thought to be confederates with India.

Subject of the proclamation which was found in the tent of the Persian Prince [illegible]

Not a word of the Proclamation which, as is well known, was found in the Tent of a Persian Prince, alludes to a conspiracy with Hindustan; its contents refer only to encouragement of the people of his own country. The mention of the evil state of affairs in Hindustan is only introduced to show that the Persians ought to be more prepared to fight and there is no hint at any conspiracy with India having been concluded.

Despatch of a [illegible] by the King of Delhi to the Shah of Persia not noticeable — before the beginning of the rebellion.

There is nothing strange in the circumstance of the deposed King of Delhi's writing a Firman to Persia. The condition of the deposed King of Delhi was such that if it had been said to him that the King of the Genii in Fairyland is Your Majesty's servant — he would have believed it true; and not to say one Firman would have written ten. The deposed King of Delhi was always fancying

that

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that he was being transformed into a fly or Musquito and going and getting information about different nations and countries and he believed in his own mind that this thing was really the case; and used to ask his Courtiers to attest it, and they all did attest it. It is not to be wondered at then, if such a lunatic wrote any Farman at anybody's suggestion but it is not to be supposed that any such Farman formed the basis of a conspiracy in any manner whatever. Does it not seem surprising that there should be so great a conspiracy and that it should have endured so long. and our Authorities have been altogether unacquainted with it; and that after the revolt no rebel either soldier or Civilian should have made mention of any kind of conspiracy although after the revolt they would not have been withheld by fear from mentioning it.

The annexation of Awadh, not the cause of the rising.

We are not to suppose that the annexation of Awadh either was

was a cause of this rebellion:— there is indeed no doubt that all people were displeased with the annexation of Awadh, and all were convinced that the Hon'ble E. I. Company had acted in violation of Treaties and promises. In general the dissatisfaction of the people with the annexation of Awadh was of the same description as it always was when the Company conquered any country mention of which will be made hereafter. To the Princes of Delhi and to the Chiefs themselves who ruled in Hindustan, the fear and alarm and dissatisfaction were still greater; all were fully persuaded that the dominions and powers and governments of all would be similarly seized upon:— nevertheless we see that there was not a single rebel amongst the ruling Chiefs, those who joined in this rebellion were mostly people whose countries had been taken from them:— the cases of the Nawab of Jhajjar and of the Rajah of Ballabgarh and of others are not to be cited against.

the

this opinion

Nor is it to be imagined with reference to this rebellion that all the people of Hindustan united in rebellion through feelings of grief and regret that a foreign nation and stranger tribe had got possession of the ancient Empire of the Hindustani people. It is to be remembered that the rule of our Government did not shoot up suddenly in Hindustan but was gradually developed. Its beginning is reckoned from the year 1757, from the time of the defeat of Siraj-ud-daulah at Plassey. Shortly after that period the hearts of all the people and subjects were attracted towards our Government and hearing continually the good qualities and excellencies, the mercifulness and liberality and steadfastness as regards agreements and carefulness of

[Margin note: the [illegible] of strangers]

of the general welfare shown by the Government Officers and the peacefulness and repose which prevailed under them. The Officers both Hindoo & Mussulman who resided contiguously to our Govt entertained the wish that they might dwell under the shadow of the rule of our Government. The Kings of foreign countries too were reposing entire confidence in our Government and considered the treaties and agreement which they had formed with our Government to be sure to be maintained inviolate and as durable as though written on stone. Although our Govt has become vastly powerful as compared with what it was at first and on the contrary not a tenth of the power is left to the Native Princes and Governors and Rulers which they first had, and although in those days our Government waged many wars with every tribe of Hindustan both Hindoo & Moslem and was invariably victorious so that all the Natives of Hindustan were

become able

persuaded that our Government would
one day overspread all India and that
all the people of India whether Hindoos
or Moslems would one day be governed
by it notwithstanding all this there
never was any rebellion or resistance
to our Government and no mention of
any such rebellion occurs in any of the
histories. If therefore the rebellion had
proceeded from the cause we have
mentioned above then there must
needs have been some example in
those times of similar revolts and
this the rather as in those times there was
greater opportunity for such rebellion,
for example – during the war of 1839
when nevertheless there was no sort
of rebellion in Hindustan. although
for centuries India had been under
the sway of the Kings of those very
countries with whom the Government
was then at war and although the
appearance of the Moslems in India
and their rise to power was owing

to the kings of those very countries, It is therefore not supposable that the Moslems would have incited this rebellion through desire of seeing their sovereignty taken from them.

[Pos]ition of the King of Delhi well known within the towns & provinces, but only had in the North Western Provinces.

Not a single person was desirous of seeing the Government of the deposed King of Delhi restored. The folly and profligacy of this family had subverted its character and dignity in the eyes of all: — It is true that the people of distant districts who are unacquainted with the condition and ill conduct and extinction and authority of the King still thought a great deal of him and regarded him as the King in Hindustan and the Hon'ble East India Company as the Superintendent of Hindustan under him but the inhabitants of Delhi itself and of the adjacent country had no respect whatever for the King; and besides all this no sensation had been caused to any of the people of India by the King's deposition. It will be remembered

that

that when in the year 1827, Lord Amherst publicly announced that his Government was entirely independent of the house of Timur and moreover was itself the King of Hindustan, then the people and rulers of India gave no heed whatever to the circumstance, it was only to the Royal family themselves that this was a circumstance of pain.

The declaration of Lord Amherst, in the year 1827, to the effect that the empire of India belonged to the British Govt. and that it no longer appertained to the Timur family, did not offend any.

It is a very unfounded idea that the Moslems had for a long time conspired and confederated together for the purpose of carrying on a Jihád or holy war against the people of other religions and of freeing themselves from their rule. Inasmuch as the Moslems were living securely under our Government it was quite impossible for them to raise a Jihád within the territories of the Government. [35 years before a very celebrated Maulavi Muhammad Ismail had preached a Jihád in Hindustan and invited all men to engage in that holy war; but he, at that time, clearly announced that the inhabitants

The Mahomedans did not contemplate Jihád against the Hindus previous to the outbreak.

The preaching of Jihád in India, (35) thirty years before with reservations, if [illegible] against the Sikh Government was opposed to the [illegible] of the Mahomedans, and from the [illegible] at practice, the side of the [illegible] against the [illegible] was held before

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of Hindustan who were remaining at peace under the English Government ought not to engage in the Jihád in India wherefore thousands of combatants in the holy war assembled in every province in India and caused no disturbance whatever in the dominions of the English Government, but went to the West of the Punjab and there fought; and this which is called a Jihád the leaders of which in each province are low and ignorant people, even supposing that it be a Jihád even then the agreement and compact which lead to it did not take place before the 10th of May 1857.

ne of the acts committed
the Mahomedans now
during the rebellion
in accordance with
the law of the Mahomedan
faith.

We must bear in mind that at this period the people who set up the flag of the holy war were so bad and disreputable and depraved that they had no other business but wine drinking and libertinism and the nách and dancing women. How how could such people be considered the leaders and guides in a holy war. Because at this time there was not a single thing done in accordance with religious duties

All

_ All are aware that for the servants of Government to dishonestly appropriate the treasure and property of the Government committed to their charge and thus to break their faith was not right in a religious point of view:- it is also quite manifest that according to the rules of religion, it is prodigious crime to put innocent persons to death, especially women and children and old people; then how could these disturbances have the sense of a holy war. Without doubt indeed some villains pretended to call it a holy war, in order that they might gratify their own avarice & advantage themselves and obtain their own desires and that they might deceive the ignorant and encourage their own party. This is merely one of the rascalities of the wicked rebels and does not make the war, in fact a holy one.

The Fatwa or declaration for holy war which was printed at Delhi has been thought to be a strong proof of there having been such a war, but I have heard on good authority many

The Fatwa of the printed at Delhi a counterfeit one

many proofs may be adduced of it that it is altogether a counterfeit. I have heard that when the mutinous army marched from Meerut to Delhi some person asked for a decree for a holy war, but a unanimous decree was given that no such war could take place. Although I have seen a copy of this first decree yet as the original decree is lost I am unable to say how far the copy can be depended upon; but when the Bareilly troops reached Delhi, and a decree was given a second time of this nature which is well known and wherein it was written that it is lawful to commence a holy war that was undoubtedly not a genuine decree, the man who printed it was a rebel and one long known to be of bad character, and he attached to it the names of peoples in order to deceive and mislead the ignorant, and having printed these names he thus gave an air of importance to it. Moreover he printed on it the half-seal of a person who had died before

the

the rebellion; moreover it is well known that many persons were compelled forcibly and violently by the mutinous troops from Bareilly and the traitors along with them to affix their seals.

There was a very large number of Maulavis in Delhi and of their followers who in a religious point of view regarded the deposed King of Delhi as a very wicked and heretical person. Their belief was that prayers could not rightly be offered in those mosques at Delhi where the King had possession and the power of interference or management. These persons accordingly would not pray in the Cathedral mosque and decrees on this subject printed long anterior to the rebellion are in existence. Can any reasonable man then assent to this that the very persons whose seals were upon decrees of this nature would have decreed that a Jihad could rightly have been commenced & that the King was to have been made leader.

A large number of Maulavis who considered the King of Delhi a violator of the law by stopping in the Royal mosque

...me persons
...a seal are said
...affixed to the
...at Delhi.
...Kashmiri
...of Christians.

Of those persons whose seals are stamped upon the decree several protected Christians, and defended their lives and honor, not one of them fought against the English nor resisted them. How could they have acted thus had the facts been as they are publicly supposed. In short my opinion is that the Moslems never entertained the idea of uniting to wage a holy war against rulers of a different religion, or of raising a tumult amongst the ignorant and disaffected with the cry of a Holy War ('Holy war') and then after uttering this religious shout that they should draw back is altogether unworthy of belief. With regard indeed to the extent to which the Moslems were discontented with reference to religion and what was the cause of that discontent we shall explain that clearly hereafter. Of this there is no doubt that in comparison with the Hindoos the Moslems were more discontented on the

subject

subject and very other: and this is the reason that in several Provinces the Moslems have been more rebellious than the Hindoos, though the Provinces in which the Hindoos have rebelled, have not been few.

The Bengal army was not previously in league for an outbreak

It is by no means the case that there was any antecedent conspiracy or plan in the Army to rebel. It is quite certain that after the Army had broken out into revolt they never spoke of such a conspiracy amongst themselves. We must grant however that after what took place at Barrackpore and especially at the time when men were assembled from different regiments to learn the new drill in the Punjab they agreed among themselves never to use the new Cartridge, but even at that time there was no ulterior purpose or design of any kind. Moreover they felt assured that the Government would put a stop to this matter; although it was stopped nevertheless from stopping it after the 10 of May 1857, no advantage resulted towards suppressing the revolt and the

THE CAUSES OF THE INDIAN REVOLT.

WRITTEN

BY

SYED AḤMED KHAN BAHADUR, C. S. I.

IN URDOO, IN THE YEAR 1858, AND TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

HIS TWO EUROPEAN FRIENDS,

BENARES.

MEDICAL HALL PRESS.

1873.

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PREFACE.

The following pages though written in 1858 have not yet been published. I publish them now as, although many years have elapsed since they were indited, nothing has occurred to cause me to change my opinions. An honest exposition of Native ideas is all that our Government requires to enable it to hold the country with the full concurrence of its inhabitants and not merely by the sword.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MERCIFUL, THE COMPASSIONATE.

"Obedience and submission become the servant;
Forgiveness is the attribute of God:
If I should do amiss
Reward me as seemeth right in Thine eyes."

Since I began this Essay on the causes of the Rebellion in Hindustan I have been tempted to keep silence on the events of the past, and even to wish my remembrance of them should be blotted out. The proclamation issued by Her Majesty contains such ample redress for every grievance which led up to that revolt, that a man writing on the subject feels his pen fall from his hands. Why enter further into the matter when the cause of all the dissatisfaction has been discovered and provided against? Yet I think that loyal men, and such as really wish well to their Government, should not content themselves with reflection: but explain with all possible fidelity, their views on the origin of this rebellion. Although, therefore, the causes of complaint have been met, and the grievances redressed, I think it my duty to record my opinion on the subject. That many well-informed, able, and experienced men have written on the causes of the disturbance, I know; but I am not aware that any native of the country has hitherto been among their number. I venture therefore, publicly to express my opinion.

What were the causes of the Rebellion in Hindustan?

Before answering this question, let us ask what is the meaning of the word, Rebellion. To fight against the Government, to aid and assist those who are resisting the authority of Government, to set at

Definition of "Rebellion" exemplified with instances.

nought, and disobey the orders of Government with a view to resist its authority, or with contempt, and disrespect to infringe the rights of Government, and disregard its prerogations in any, or in all of these, I take it that Rebellion consists.

Let us clearly recapitulate the above.

1. To fight with, or oppose, the servants, or subjects of Government.

2. To neglect, and set at nought the Orders of Government, with a view to resist its authority.

3. To aid and assist or in any way take part with those who are in open opposition to Government.

4. To shew a turbulent disposition, and such as is likely to lead to lawless riot, and disregard of the Authority of Government.

5. To swerve at heart from respect and loyalty to the Government; and in times of trouble, to withhold from it an active support.

In that sad year, 1857, there was not one of these forms of rebellion which did not find a place. There are but few men in truth, even amongst the best of us, who may not be connected under the latter head; which, though in appearance of little import, is in reality of no small weight.

Why it is resorted to.

The primary causes of rebellion are, I fancy, everywhere the same. It invariably results from the existence of a policy obnoxious to the dispositions, aims, habits, and views, of those by whom the rebellion is brought about.

From this it follows that widely-spread disaffection cannot spring from any solitary, or local cause. Universal rebellion must arise from universal grounds for discontent or from streams, do-

riving from many different sources, but finally merging into one wide-spreading, turbulent water.

As regards the Rebellion of 1857, the fact is, that for a long period, many grievances had been rankling in the hearts of the people. In course of time, a vast store of explosive material had been collected. It wanted but the application of a match to light it, and that match was applied by the Mutinous Army.

The Rebellion of 1857 did not originate from a single cause, but from a complication of causes.

In the course of the year 1856, and almost simultaneously with the outbreak, Chuppaties were passed from hand to hand in many districts. Cholera happened at that time to be raging in Hindustan. Some have imagined that these chuppaties were used as a kind of Talisman to keep off the Cholera, the superstitious Hindustanees being in the habit of using such talismans. The fact is that even at the present day we do not know what caused the distribution of those chuppaties. We may be very sure, however, that they could never have been used with the object of spreading a conspiracy. We have, in Hindustan, I know, a custom of passing messages from tongue to tongue in this way: but with these chuppaties there was no such message passed. Had there been, it would have been sure to have leaked out; known as it would have become to every native, to all races and tribes, and to men holding every kind of opinion. The manner in which the rebellion spread, first here, then there, now breaking out in this place and now in that, is alone good proof that there existed no wide-spread conspiracy.

The distribution of "Chuppaties," had not league for its object.

Nor is there the slightest reason for thinking that the rebels in Hindustan received any aid from Russia or from Persia. The Hindustanees have no conception of the views of Russia, and it is not probable that they would league themselves

Russia and Persia not chargeable with a league in this matter.

with her. Nor can I think that they would ever be likely to receive any help from Persia. As between Roman Catholics and Protestants, so between the Mussulman of Persia and of Hindustan, cordial co-operation is impossible. To me it seems just as credible that night and day should be merged in one, as that these men should ever act in concert. Surely, if such were the case, it is very strange that during the Russian and Persian wars, Hindustan should have remained completely tranquil. Nor on the other hand is it less strange that while Hindustan was in flames, there should have been in those countries no visible stir whatever. The notion of an understanding existing between these countries must be set aside as preposterous.

The subject of the Proclamation which was found in the tent of a Persian Prince discussed.

The proclamation found in the tent of a Persian Prince is no proof of a secret understanding with Hindustan. It was evidently written with the view of animating and encouraging the Persians. The Mutinies are spoken of in order to keep up the spirit of the Persian Soldiers. There is nothing whatever to imply the existence of an understanding with the Mutineers.

The despatch of a Firman by the Ex-king of Delhi to the king of Persia not improbable, but not the origin of the rebellion.

I see nothing strange in the fact, if fact it were, of the Ex-king of Delhi having written a *farmán* to the Persians. Such an imbecile was the Ex-king that had one assured him that the angels of Heaven were his slaves, he would have welcomed the assurance, and would have caused half a dozen *farmáns* to be prepared immediately. The Ex-king had a fixed idea that he could transform himself into a fly or gnat, and that he could in this guise convey himself to other countries, and learn what was going on there. Seriously, he firmly believed that he possessed the power of transformation. He was in the habit of asking his courtiers in Durbar if it were not so, and his courtiers were not the men to undeceive him. Is there anything wonderful in the fact,

of such a dotard writing a *farmán* to any person, or at any man's instigation? Surely not: But it is perfectly incredible that such a *farmán* should have formed the basis of any league. Strange that such wide conspiracies should have been for so long hatching, and that none of our rulers should have been aware of them! After the revolt had broken out, no volunteer, whether Soldier or Civilian, ever alluded to such a thing; and yet had any league existed, there could then have no longer been any reason for concealing it.

The annexation of Oudh not the cause of the general rise.

Nor do I believe that the annexation of Oudh was the cause of this rebellion. No doubt, men of all classes were irritated at its annexation, all agreed in thinking that the Honourable East India Company had acted in defiance of its treaties, and in contempt of the word which it had pledged. The people of Oudh felt on this occasion much as other men have felt whose countries have been annexed by the East India Company. Of this, however, more hereafter. But what I mean here is that the men who would be the most irritated and dismayed at such a step, were the noblemen, and independent princes of Hindustan. These all saw that sooner or later such a policy must lead to the overthrow of their own independence and confiscation of their own lands. Nevertheless we find that there was not one of the great landed princes who espoused the rebel cause. The mutineers were for the most part men who had nothing to lose, the governed not the governing class. To cite in contradiction of what I say the cases of the Nawab of Jhujjar, and the Rajah of Bulubgurh, and other such petty feudatories would shew little else than ignorance of the *status* of the various Hindustanee chiefs.

The national league not framed with the

So too we must reject the idea that the natives of this country rose of one accord to throw off the yoke of foreigners, whom they hated and detested. The

view of overthrowing the government of strangers.

English did not obtain the Government of Hindustan in a day. By little and little they have spread their authority. They date its commencement from the year 1757: the year in which Suraj-ul-dowlah was overthrown on the plains of Plassy, from that day until a comparatively recent date, all men, high or low, have remained well-affected to the English Government. They have long been accustomed to hear of the good faith, the clemency, the consideration, and the leniency of the Government, of the noble qualities and the high moral character of those by whom it has been conducted. Hindu and Mussulman, all who have been under English rule have been well content to sit under its shadow. Foreign princes have relied implicitly upon the English. A promise given, or an agreement made by them has been looked upon as graven on stone. The Government is twice as strong in these times as it was in the earlier years of the century; while the native princes, the Subahdars and the nobles do not retain one tenth of the power they then had. The Government was continually engaged at that period in wars with every race and religion in India, with Hindu and with Mussulman alike. Its career was one long victory. All natives of the country saw that some day the English sway would extend itself over the whole of Hindustan, and that all races and religions alike must sooner or later be held within the English grasp. And yet during those early years we hear of no attempt at revolt, no striving against English authority. Find if you can any mention of such in the History of India. Had a national hatred been the cause of this rebellion, should we not have found it betraying itself in former times; in times, as I have said, when the relative power of the nations gave far greater facilities for such an outbreak? During the wars which commenced in 1839, there was not a single attempt at a revolt in Hindustan, and yet for a hundred years Hindustan had been governed by the race from which sprang the Princes against whom those wars were conducted. It was to those Princes

that the Mussulman owed their very preference and influence in India. How then, can it be supposed that the present revolt originated from hatred on the part of the Mussulman against those who had wrenched the kingdom from them?

The position of the Ex-king of Delhi well known within the town, and its environs, but overrated in the district Provinces.

No one ever had the slightest hope that the King of Delhi would revive the Empire. The excentricities and follies of the King and of his house had lost him all respect in the eyes of the world. It is no doubt true that people outside the walls of Delhi, who were less well informed as to his conditions, his mode of life, and his general incompetence, did look on him as emperor. The Hon'ble East India Company, they believed to be his Viceroy. But those who lived in and about Delhi held him in no esteem whatever. Hence it happened that when the King was virtually deposed, no Hindustanee felt the slightest regret. It will be remembered that in the year 1827 Lord Amherst openly declared that our Government was no longer in any way subservient to the house of Timour, and that the East India Company was *defacto* the sole Sovereign power in Hindustan, and that when this declaration was made, the natives expressed no dissatisfaction. The only men probably who felt any chagrin were the relatives and personal attendants of the King.

The declaration of Lord Amherst, in the year 1827, to the effect that the sovereignty of India belongs to the British Government, and that it no longer existed in the Timour family did not offend any one.

The Muhammadans did not contemplate Jehad against the Christians prior to the outbreak.

There are again no grounds for supposing that the Muhammadans had for a long time been conspiring or plotting a simultaneous rise, or a religious crusade against the professors of a different faith. The English Government does not interfere with the Muhammadans in the practice of their religion. For this sole reason it is impossible that the idea of religious crusade

should have been entertained. Thirty five years ago a celebrated Moulvie Muhammad Ismael by name preached a religious crusade in Hindustan and called upon all men to aid him in carrying it out. But on that occasion he distinctly stated that natives of Hindustan, subject to the British Government could not conscientiously take part in a religious war within the limits of Hindustan. Accordingly while thousands of Jehadees congregated in every district of Hindustan, there was no sort of disturbance raised within British Territory. Going northwards, these men crossed the Panjab frontier, and waged war in those parts of the country. And even if we should imitate the know nothings in the various districts and call the late disturbance a religious war, it is very certain that no preparations were made for it before the tenth of May, 1857.

The preaching of Jehad in India, 35 years before with this reservation, its practice against the British Government was opposed to the doctrines of the Muhammadan religion and from the same cause its practice on the other side of the Indus provinces, i. e. against the Seiks was held, before.

It must be remembered that the men who in those times raised so loud the cry of "Jehad" were vagabonds and ill-conditioned men. They were wine drinkers and men who spent their time in debauchery and dissipation. They were men floating without profession or occupation on the surface of society. Can such fellows as these be called leaders of a religious war? It was very little that they thought about religion. Their only object was to plunder Government Treasuries and to steal Government property. To be faithless to one's salt is to disregard the first principles of our religion. To slaughter innocents, especially women, children and old men would be accounted abominable. Can it possibly be imagined then, that this outbreak was of the nature of a religious war? The fact seems to be that some scoundrels prompted by greed and hoping to gain their end by deceiving fools and increasing their own numbers, gave the disturbances

None of the acts committed by the Muhammadan rebels during the disturbances were in accordance with the tenets of the Muhammadan religion.

the title of a religious war The project was worthy of the men, but there was no crusade.

I know that the Futwah which was printed at Dehli is looked upon as a convincing proof that the rebellion was in fact a crusade. I have gone into the question, and I find very strong proof to the effect that this Futwah was a forgery. I am told that when the mutineers arrived at Dehli from Meerut, some persons expressed a wish for a Futwah as to the expediency of a religious war. Every opinion given was against such a step. I have only seen a copy of the Futwah I allude to. The original has been lost and it is impossible to say how far the copy may be authentic. But I may mention that on the arrival of the Bareilly mutineers at Dehli, a second Futwah was published with the object of instigating a religious war, and there is not the smallest doubt that this second Futwah was a forgery. The man who had it printed, and who was a turbulent fellow, and a noted scoundrel, attached certain names to it in order to deceive the public, and gained for it thus a degree of credit. He stamped it, by the way, with the seal of a man who had died before the commencement of the mutinees. It may be added that some of the Bareilly mutineers, and their rebel brethern caused several seals to be forged. This fact has become a matter of notoriety.

The Futwa of Jehad printed at Delhi was a counterfeit one.

Many of the Delhi Moulvies and their followers considered the King little better than a heretic. They were of opinion that it was not right to pray in the Mosques to which he was in the habit of going and which were under his patronage. These men never read prayers in the Jumma Musjid. Long before the mutiny broke out, they had published a Futwah on the point. Can it be thought that men holding such views would give a Futwah in favour of a religious war and of

A large number of the Moulvies who considered the King of Delhi a violator of the law left off praying in the Royal Mosque.

placing the King at the head of it. Among the men whose seals were affixed to the Futwah above alluded to, were many who have sheltered Christians, and guarded their honour and their lives. Of these men not one took an active part in the rebellion, or shewed himself in the ranks of the rebel army. If they in reality held the opinions which are usually ascribed to them, why did they act in this way? It is my firm belief that the Muhammadans never dreamed of forming a combination in order to carry a religious war against the Christians. It was ignorant and disaffected men who raised the cry of "Jehad" and "Haidree." Presently I shall speak of the causes of discontent among the Muhammadans on the score of religion. I will then shew how far such discontent really did exist. That the Muhammadans were, in every respect more dissatisfied than the Hindus, there is little doubt. Hence it was that, in many districts the greater proportion of rebels were found in their ranks. Nevertheless, in districts where the Hindus rebelled, matters were carried to as great extremes.

The same persons whose seals are said to be affixed to the Futwa at Delhi protected the lives and honor of Christians.

A conspiracy, or concerted league never existed in the army. It is well known that after the mutiny had broken out, no Sepoy ever mentioned such a thing. True that after the affair at Barrackpore, and especially in the Punjab, on the introduction of the new drill, men of several regiments used to meet together and declare they would never allow the use of the new cartridges. But they formed no plan whatever; on the contrary, they believed that Government would not insist on carrying out the order. The order was not carried out. But after the 2nd of May, when it had been withdrawn, the mutinies had broken out, and could no longer be checked by such means, a flame had been lit, that was not to be thus quenched

The Bengal army was not previously in league for an outbreak.

So too there never existed a previous understanding between the rebel army and the Ex-King. The idea is entirely without foundation. No one looked upon the King as sovereign or as consecrate, men used to flatter him to his face, and laugh at him behind his back. The people clung to him from no feeling of loyalty, but with a view to their own advantage. Very likely privates, and Subahdars in some of the regiments were in communication with him. This however does not prove that there was any general understanding between him and the mutineers. The rebel army collected at Dehli, it is true, but after it had thrown off its allegiance to the Government, there was no one but the King of Dehli round whom it could rally. The fact of their gathering at Dehli is in itself no proof of a conspiracy. It was impolitic and unwise of Government to keep up the semblance of a King at Dehli. Lord Ellenborough's views on this point were sound and it is a pity they were not put more thoroughly into practice. The King of Delhi was a spark from a furnace which, wafted by the wind, eventually set all Hindustan in a blaze.

Nor was there any league between the army and Ex-king though it is not improbable that some Sepoy or Non-Commissioned Officer may have been his disciple.

I believe that this Rebellion owes its origin to one great cause to which all others are but secondary Branches so to speak of the parent stem. I do not found my belief on any speculative grounds or any favourite theory of my own. For centuries, many able and thoughtful men have concurred in the views I am about to express. All treatises and works on the principles of Government bear me out. All Histories either of the one or the other hemisphere are witnesses to the soundness of my opinions.

The non-admission of a native as a member into the Legislative Council was the original cause of the out-break.

Most men, I believe, agree in thinking that it is highly con-

The importance of such on admission discussed.

ducive to the welfare and prosperity of Government: indeed is essential to its stability that the people should have a voice in its Councils. It is from the voice of the people only that Government can learn whether its projects are likely to be well received. The voice of the people can alone check errors in the bud, and warn us of dangers before they burst upon, and destroy us.

A needle may dam the gushing rivulet. An elephant must turn aside from the swollen torrent. This voice however can never be heard and this security never acquired, unless the people are allowed a share in the consultations of Government. The men who have ruled India should never have forgotten that they were here in the position of foreigners, that they differed from its natives in religion, in customs, in habits of life and of thought. The security of a Government, it will be remembered, is founded on its knowledge of the character of the governed, as well on its careful observance of their rights and privileges. Look back at the pages of History, the record of the experience of the past, and you will not fail to be struck with the differences and distinctions that have existed between the manners, the opinions, and the customs of the various races of men: differences which have been acquired by no written rule, or prescribed by any printed form. They are in every instance the inheritance of the peculiar race. It is to these differences of thought and of custom that the laws must be adapted, for they cannot be adapted to the laws. In their due observance lies the welfare and security of Government. From the beginning of things, to disregard these has been to disregard the nature of man, and the neglect of them has ever been the cause of universal discontent. Can we forget the confusion that ensued on the acceptance of the Dewannee by the British Government in the year, 1760, a confusion brought about by the ignorance then prevailing? If one wishes to recall those times, he can read of them in Marshman's History. Who, on the contrary, does not remember the pro

perity of Bengal when under the rule of Lord Hasting? I attribute it to the knowledge of its peculiarities and the acquaintance with the Vernacular which obtained in those days.

To form a Parliament from the natives of India is of course out of the question. It is not only impossible, but useless. There is no reason however why the natives of this country should be excluded from the Legislative Council, and here it is that you come upon the one great root of all this evil. Here is the origin of all the troubles that have befallen Hindustan. From causes connected with this matter sprang all the evil that has lately happened.

I do not say that Government has made no attempt to acquaint itself with the characteristics, and economy of the country. I am well aware that serious efforts have been made. The Regulations of Government, the Circulars of the Board of Revenue, and Mr. Thomason's Directions to Revenue Officers are sufficient proof of this. But I do say that Government has not succeeded in acquainting itself with the daily habits, the modes of thought and of life, the likes, and dislikes, and the prejudices of the people. Our Government never knew what troubles each succeeding sun might bring with it to its subjects, or what sorrow might fall upon them with the night. Yet day by day troubles and anxieties were increasing upon them. Secret causes of complaint were rankling in their breasts. Little by little a cloud was gathering strength, which finally burst over us in all its violence.

The non-admission of such a member proved a hinderance to the development of the good feeling of the Indian subject towards the Government and of their good intentions towards; on the contrary, contrary effects were produced.

The evils, which resulted to India from the non-admission of natives into the Legislative Council of India were various. Government could never know the inadvisability of the laws and regulations which it passed. It could never hear as it ought to have heard the voice of the people on such a subject. The people had no means of protesting against what they might feel to be a foolish

measure, or of giving public expression to their own wishes. But the greatest mischief lay in this that the people misunderstood the views and the intentions of Government. They misapprehended every act, and whatever law was passed was misconstrued by men who had no share in the framing of it, and hence no means of judging of its spirit. At length the Hindustanees fell into the habit of thinking that all the laws were passed with a view to degrade and ruin them, and to deprive them and their fellows of their religion. Such acts as were repugnant to native customs and character, whether in themselves good or bad, increased this suspicion. At last came the time when all men looked upon the English Government as slow poison, a rope of sand, a treacherous flame of fire. They learned to think that if to-day they escaped from the hands of Government, to-morrow they would fall into them; or that even if they escaped on the morrow, the third day would see their ruin. There was no man to reason with them, no one to point out to them the absurdity of such ideas. When the Governors and the governed occupy relatively such a position as this, what hope is there of loyalty or of good-will? Granted that the intentions of Government were excellent, there was no man who could convince the people of it; no one was at hand to correct the errors which they had adopted. And why? Because there was not one of their own member among the members of the Legislative Council. Had there been, these evils that have happened to us, would have been averted. The more one thinks the matter over, the more one is convinced that here we have the one great cause which was the origin of all smaller causes of dissatisfaction.

I see no force in the argument that the Government has allowed a perfectly free Press, forbidding it merely to print abusive or seditious language or language of an inflammatory nature. Nor was it of any use to circulate laws before they were finally passed so that every man should have an opportunity of speaking his

mind out about them. It was not by such measures as these that evils such as I am writing about could be remedied. Far from it, these half measures were useless.

I do not wish to enter here into the question as to how the ignorant and uneducated natives of Hindustan could be allowed a share in the deliberations of the Legislative Council: or as to how they should be selected to form an assembly like the English Parliament. These are knotty points. All I wish to prove here is that such a step is not only advisable, but absolutely necessary, and that the disturbances are due to the neglect of such a measure. As regards the details of the question, I have elsewhere discussed them; and those who wish to enter into it can read what I have said.

The outbreak of rebellion proceeded from the following five causes.

This mistake of the Government then made itself felt in every matter connected with Hindustan. All causes of rebellion, however various, can be traced to this one. And if we look at these various causes separately and distinctly we shall I think, find that they may be classed under five heads.

1. Ignorance on the part of the people: by which I mean misapprehension of the intentions of Government.

2. The passing of such laws and regulations and forms of procedure as jarred with the established customs and practice of Hindustan, and the introduction of such as were in themselves objectionable.

3. Ignorance on the part of the Government of the condition of the people; of their modes of thought and of life; and of the grievances through which their hearts were becoming estranged.

4. The neglect on the part of our rulers of such points as were essential to the good Government of Hindustan.

5. The bad management, and disaffection of the army.

I shall now proceed to consider these five heads, and all that may be classed under them, distinctly, and in detail.

CAUSE. I.

Ignorance on the part of the people, that is, misapprehension of the intentions Government.

Misunderstanding on the part of the Indians.

I would here say that I do not wish it to be understood that the views of Government were in reality such as have been imputed to them. I only wish to say that they were misconstrued by the people, and that this misconstruction hurried on the rebellion. Had there been a native of Hindustan in the Legislative Council, the people would never have fallen into such errors.

Apprehension of interference of Government with the religious customs of the Indians.

Interference in matters of religion. There is not the smallest doubt that all men whether ignorant, or well-informed, whether high or low, felt a firm conviction that the English Government was bent on interfering with their religion, and with their old established customs. They believed that Government intended to force the Christian Religion and foreign customs upon Hindu and Mussulman alike. This was the chief among the secondary causes of the rebellion. It was believed by every one that Government was slowly but surely developing its plans. Every step it was thought was being taken with the most extreme caution. Hence it is that men said that Government does not speak of proselytising Muhammadans summarily, and by force; but it will throw off the veil as it feels itself stronger, and will act with greater decision. Events, as I shall presently shew, increased and strengthened this conviction. Men never thought that our Government would openly compel them to change their religion. The idea was that indirect steps would be taken, such as doing away with the study of Arabic and Sanscrit, and reducing the

people to ignorance and poverty. In this way, it was supposed, the people would be deprived of a knowledge of the principles of their own faith, and their attention turned to books containing the principles of the Christian Creed. It was supposed that Government would then work on the cupidity, and poverty of its subjects and on condition of their abjuring their faith, offer them employment in its own service.

Mention of the Secundra Orphan Asylum.

In the year 1837, the year of the great drought, the step which was taken of rearing orphans in the principles of the Christian faith, was looked upon throughout the N. W. P. as an example of the schemes of Government. It was supposed that when Government had similarly brought all Hindustanees to a pitch of ignorance and poverty, it would convert them to its own creed. The Hindustanees used, as I have said, to feel an increasing dismay at the annexation of each successive country by the Hon'ble East India Company. But I assert without fear of contradiction that this feeling arose solely from the belief in their minds, that as the power of Government increased, and there no longer remained foreign enemies to fight against, or internal troubles to quell, it would turn its attention inwards, and carry out a more systematic interference with their creed and religious observances.

Religious discussion being carried to a great height during the present time.

In the first days of British rule in Hindustan, there used to be less talk than at present on the subject of religion. Discussion on this point has been increasing day by day and has now reached its climax. I do not say that Government has interfered in these matters; but it has been the general opinion that all that was done was according to the instructions and hints of Government, and was by no means displeasing to it. It has been commonly believed that Government appointed Missionaries and maintained them at its own cost. It has been supposed that Government, and the officers of Government throughout the country

were in the habit of giving large sums of money to these Missionaries with the intention of covering their expenses, enabling them to distribute books, and in every way aiding them. Many covenanted officers, and many Military men have been in the habit of talking to their subordinates about religion; some of them would bid their servants come to their houses, and listen to the preaching of Missionaries, and thus it happened that in the course of time no man felt sure that his creed would last even his own life time.

The covenanted officers assumed the Missionary functions.

The Missionaries moreover introduced a new system of preaching. They took to printing and circulating controversial tracts, in the shape of questions and answers. Men of a different faith were spoken of in those tracts in a most offensive and irritating way. In Hindustan these things have always been managed very differently Every man in this country, preaches and explains his views in his own Mosque, or his own house. If any one wishes to listen to him, he can go to the Mosque, or house, and hear what he has to say. But the Missionaries' plan was exactly the opposite. They used to attend places of public resort, markets for instance, and fairs where men of different creeds were collected together, and used to begin preaching there. It was only from fear of the authorities that no one bid them be off about their business. In some districts the Missionaries were actually attended by Policemen from the station. And then the Missionaries did not confine themselves to explaining the doctrines of their own books. In violent and unmeasured language they attacked the followers and the holy places of other creeds: annoying, and insulting beyond expression the feelings of those who listened to them. In this way, too, the seeds of discontent were sown deep in the hearts of the people.

Preaching of the Gospel by the Missionaries.

Then Missionary schools were started in which the principles

The establishment of Missionary Schools and the covenanted officers attending examinations at them.

of the Christian faith were taught. Men said it was by the order of Government. In some districts covenanted officers of high position and of great influence used to visit the schools and encourage the people to attend them; Examinations were held in books which taught the tenets of the Christian religion. Lads who attended the schools used to be asked such questions as the following "who is your God?" "Who is your Redeemer," and these questions they were obliged to answer agreeably to the Christian belief; prizes being given accordingly. This again added to the prevailing ill-will. But it may be said with some justice, "If the people were not satisfied with this course of education, why did they let their children go to the schools?" The fact is that we have here no question of like or dislike. On the contrary we must account for this by the painfully degraded and ignorant state of the people. They believed that if their children were entered at the schools, they might have employment given them by Government, and be enabled to find some means of subsistence. Hence they put up with a state of affairs in reality disagreeable enough to them. But it must not be thought that they ever liked those schools.

Village Schools.

When the village Schools were established, the general belief was that they were instituted solely with the view of teaching the doctrines of Jesus. The pergunnah visitors, and deputy inspectors, who used to go from village to village, and town to town advising the people to enter their children at these Schools, got the nickname of Native Clergyman. When the Pergunnah visitor, or Deputy Inspector entered any village the people used to say that the Native Clergyman had come. Their sole idea was that these were Christian Schools, established with the view of converting them. Well-informed men, although they did not credit this, saw nevertheless that in these Schools nothing but Urdu was taught. They were afraid that boys while

reading only Urdu would forget the tenets of their own faith, and that they would thus drift into Christianity. They believed also, that Government wished such books as bore upon the doctrines of the former religions of Hindustan, to fall into entire disuse. This was to be done with the view of ensuring the spread of Christianity. In many of the Eastern districts of Hindustan where these Schools were established, boys were entered at them by compulsion, and by compulsion only. It was currently reported that all this was in pursuance of the orders of Government.

The introduction of female education.

There was at the same time a great deal of talk in Hindustan about female education. Men believed it to be the wish of Government, that girls should attend, and be taught at these Schools, and leave off the habit of sitting veiled. Anything more obnoxious than this to the feelings of the Hindustanees cannot be conceived. In some districts the practice was actually introduced. The pergunnah visitors and Deputy Inspectors hoped by enforcing the attendance of girls, to gain credit with their Superior. In every way, therefore, right or wrong, they tried to carry out their object. Here then was another cause of discontent among the people, through which they became confirmed in error.

Alterations in the usual system of education in large Colleges.

The large Colleges, established in the towns, were from the first a source of suspicion. At the time of their establishment Shah Abdulazeez, a celebrated Moulvie of Hindustan was alive. The Muhammadans asked him for a Futwah on the subject. His answer was distinct. "Go," he said, "Read in the English Colleges, and learn the English Tongue. The laws of Islam admit it." Acting on this opinion the Muhammadans did not hesitate to enter these Colleges. At that time, however, the Colleges were conducted on a principle widely different from that which is at present adopted. Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, and English, were

equally taught. The "Fickah," "Hadees" and other such books were read. Examinations were held in the "Fickah" for which certificates of proficiency were given. Religion was not in any way thrust forward. The professors were men of worth and weight: all Scholars of great reputation, wide knowledge and sound moral character. But all this has been changed. The study of Arabic is little thought of. The "Fikah" and "Hadees" were suddenly dropped. Persian is almost entirely neglected. Books and methods of teaching have been changed. But the study of Urdu and of English has greatly increased. All this has tended to strengthen the idea that Government wished to wipe out the religions which it found in Hindustan. The professors are no longer men of weight or acquirements. Students at the College, in whom people have not gained confidence, have for some time past been appointed professors. And hence it is that throughout the country these Colleges have fallen into disrepute.

Such was the state of the village Schools and the Colleges. Such the general feeling of distrust throughout the country as to the views of Government about conversion, when a proclamation was issued by Government to the following effect. Whoever had studied and passed an examination in certain Sciences, and in the English language, and had received a Certificate to that effect, was to be considered as having prior claims for employment in the Public Service. Petty appointments were granted on the production of certificates from the Deputy Inspectors: the very men who had hitherto been nicknamed Native Clergymen. This came as a blow to every one. Suspicion increased tenfold. The rumour again arose that Government wished to deprive the Hindustanees of all means of subsistence and by impoverishing them gradually, to substitute its own religion in the place of theirs.

The issue of Government proclamation on the subject of admitting Government College English students to appointments in preference to other candidates.

It was at this time, that the practice was introduced in some district jails, of making prisoners eat food which had been cooked by a single man; such a measure as this was fatal to the caste of Hindus. To the Muhammadan creed it was not actually obnoxious, nevertheless Muhammadans were annoyed at its introduction. They looked upon it as another proof that Government wished to meddle with all creeds alike. They saw in it but another part of one huge plan.

Introduction of the messing system in the Jails.

Whilst all these discontents were at their height, there suddenly appeared, in 1855, a letter by Mr. Edmond,* which was circulated publicly from Calcutta, and a copy of which was sent to all the principal officials of Government. It was to the effect that all Hindustan was now under one rule, that the telegraph had so connected all parts of the country that they were as one, that the rail road had brought them so near that all towns were as one, the time had clearly come when there should be, but one faith; it was right therefore, that we should all become Christians. It is no metaphor to say that men were blinded with fear at the receipt of this Circular. The ground seemed at last to have given way beneath their feet. They cried out that the long-expected hour had indeed arrived. The servants of Government were first to be made Christians, then the mass of the people. This circular it was said was written by order of Government. Natives in Government employ were asked whether they had received the circular and this was in fact to taunt them with having turned Christians, on the condition of getting Government employ. The native officials were so ashamed of the circular that those to whom it had been sent, used to hide the fact from fear of being ridiculed and abused, and would deny having ever received it. They used to say "It has not been sent to us": and the answer used to be "well, well;

The circulation of Mr. E. Edmond's letters from Calcutta.

* See Appendix No. I.

Be sure that it will come. Are you not in Government employ ?" Looking into the subject, one feels that this unhappy circular set the finishing stroke to the public suspicion and ill-will." And yet again at this crisis there was no one at hand to set men's minds at rest. It will surprise no one to find that there should have been something very like conspiracy and more or less disturbance about this time. This was in fact the case. But the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal soon heard of it, and issued a Proclamation* which soothed men's minds and put suspicion to sleep for a time. It was however but a temporary relief; men still thought that Government had given up its projects only for a while, but that when it found itself a little stronger, it would resume them.

The interference in religious matters more repugnant to the feelings of the Muhammadans, and its causes.

All these causes rendered the Muhammadans more uneasy than the Hindus. The reason of this, I take to be that the Hindu faith consists rather in the practice of long established rites and forms, than in the study of doctrine. The Hindus recognize no canons and laws, or appeals to the heart and conscience. Their creed does not admit of such things. Hence it is that they are exceedingly indifferent about speculative doctrine. They insist upon nothing, excepting the strict observance of their old rites, and of their modes of eating and drinking. It does not annoy or grieve them, to see such rites and observances, as they consider necessary, disregarded by other men. Muhammadans, on the contrary, looking upon the tenets of their creed as necessary to Salvation; and upon the neglect of them as damnation, are thoroughly well-grounded in them. They regard their religious precepts as the ordinances of God. Hence it was that the Muhammadans were more uneasy than the Hindus, and that, as might have been expected, they formed the majority of the rebels. It is wrong and impolitic on the part of a Government to interfere in any way with the faith of its subjects.

See Appendix No. II.

But of all courses, the most unjust is to hinder the study of the tenets of their religion: and especially of such an one as is heartily believed by its votaries to be true. But be this as it may, all I wish here to prove is that whatever the intentions of Government might be, matters were so managed that the people were left to stumble on, in error, suspicion, and ill-will.

CAUSE II

"The passing of such laws, regulations and forms of procedure, as were inconsistent with the established customs and practice of Hindustan: and the introduction of such as were in themselves objectionable."

The promulgation of objectionable laws and procedures. Act 21 of 1850.

The Legislative Council is not free from the charge of having meddled with religious matters. Act XXI of 1850, was without doubt prejudicial to the professors of other creeds. This act was thought to have been passed with the view of cozening men into Christianity. The Hindu faith, as is known, allows of no converts. To the Hindus, therefore this act brought no benefit. If a man again become a convert to Islam, he is forbidden by the laws of his new religion, from inheriting property left to him by men of another creed. No Muhammadan convert, therefore, could profit by this act. To such men, however, as became Christians it offered great advantages. Hence this act was said not only to interfere with people's religion, but to hold out strong inducements to conversion.

Act 15 of 1856.

Act 15 of 1856 again, relating to Hindu widows was opposed to the practice of the Hindu religion. There is, I grant, much controversy on this point, and there always has been:

but it is none the less a fact that the Hindus, who cling particularly to the forms, and customs of their faith, were greatly annoyed at this Act. They thought that its provisions were little less than an insult to them. The suspicion arose that this act was intended to free widows from all restraint, and to give them the power of doing whatever they might think proper. So too it would be impossible to overstate the disgust which was felt by all Hindustanees at the Licence given to women in criminal actions, even married women were recognized to the Criminal Courts as competent. To give a married woman such liberty, was simply to deprive her guardian of all power over her: and not only this but the measure was altogether opposed to the spirit of the existing religions. The remedy provided for such cases by a suit in the Civil Courts was little better than useless. Cases of this kind which according to our belief and practice should have met with prompt attention, were so delayed and deferred, that the remedy was nearly as bad as the grievance. The decrees of the Civil Court for the restoration of married women are very often waste paper. It often happens that a woman has borne two or three children to the man who abducted her, before her husband can find a trace of her whereabouts.

Giving liberty to females.

Moreover, certain acts and laws were passed which led to decisions in the Civil Courts opposed to the religious practice of litigants, even where they happened to be of the same faith. I would not have the Government shew a partiality for any creed whatever. When parties to a suit are of different creeds, Government should be careful, provided that due respect is paid to the religious practice of the litigants, to ensure equal justice. When however the litigants are of the same creed, it is but right, that decrees, affecting rights, issued by the Courts should be in accordance with the religious practice of the parties.

The promulgation of certain Acts in cases wherein the parties are of one religion.

D

The laws, providing for the resumption of Revenue free lands, the last of which was regulation 6 of 1819, were most obnoxious. Nothing disgusted the natives of this country more with the English Government than this resumption of Revenue free lands. Sir T. Munro and the Duke of Wellington said truly enough that to resume lands granted revenue free, was to let the whole people against us, and to make beggars of the masses. I cannot describe the odium, and the hatred which this act brought on Government, or the extent to which it beggared the people. Many lands which had been held revenue free for centuries, were suddenly resumed on the flimsiest pretexts. The people said that Goverument not only did nothing for them itself, but undid what former Governments had done. This measure, altogether lost for the Government, the confidence of its subjects. It may be said that if revenue free lands were not resumed, some other source of income would have to be sought, or some new Tax imposed to meet the charges of Government: so that the people would have st bear the burthen. This may be so; but the people do not see it. It is a remarkable fact that wherever the rebels have issued proclamations to deceive and reduce the people, they have only mentioned two things: the one, interference in matters of religion, the other, the resumption of revenue free lands. It seems fair to infer that these were the two chief causes of the public discontent. More especially was it the case with the Muhammadans, on whom this grievance fell far more heavily than on the Hindus.

The resumption of Mafia.

The result of extenguishing the Native states, according to Sir Thomas Munro, in place of raising to debase the whole people. And according to the Duke of Wellington "To degrade and beggar the natives making them all enemies."

Under former rules, and in old times, the system of buying and selling rights in landed property, of mortgage, and of transfer by gift, undoubtedly prevailed. But there was little of it, and what little there was, was due to the consent and wishes of the parties concerned. To arbitrarily

Public sales of Zemindari rights.

ompel the sale of these rights in satisfaction of arrears of revenue, r of debt, was a practice in those days unknown. Hindustanee andlords are particularly attached to this kind of property. The loss of their estates has been to them a source of the leepest annnoyance. A landed estate in Hindustan is very like a little kingdom. It has always been the practice to elect one nan as the head over all. By him, matters requiring discus-ion are brought forward, and every shareholder in proportion o his holding, has the power of speaking out his mind on the point. The cultivators, and the Chowdries of the villages attend on such an occasion, and say whatever they have to say. Any matter of unusual importance is settled by the head-men of some of the larger villages. You have here in fact in great perfection a miniature Kingdom, and Parliament. These landlords were indignant at the loss of their estate, as a king at the loss of his empire. But the Government acted in utter disregard of the state of things formerly existing. Dating from the commencement of English rule to the present time, there is probably not a single village, in which there have not been more or less transfers. In the first days of British rule, sales of landed property were so numerous, that the whole country was turned upside down. To remedy this, Government passed the law which is called Regulation 1 of 1821, and appointed a Commission of Enquiry. This Commission, however, gave rise to a thousand other evils. After all, the affair was not brought to a satisfactory con-clusion, and, at last, the Commission was abolished. I shall not here enter into the question as to how Government could ensure the payment of the land revenue, if it gave up the practice of sales or its right to enforce sales as arising from the fact of the land being pledged for the payment of revenue. All that I now say is, that whether this system of sales was the result of necessity, or of ignorance, it has at all events had a hand in bringing on the rebellion. If any wish to see what my views are

on this question, he will find them in my work on the Government of Hindustan.* I will only mention here that it is open to grave doubt, whether the land *is* pledged for the payment of revenue. The claim of the Government lies, I take it, upon the produce of the land, not upon the land itself.

So too the practice of sale in satisfaction of debt has been most objectionable. Bankers, and money lenders have availed themselves of it to advance money to landlords, resorting to every kind of trickery and roguery, to rob them of their property. They have instituted suits without end in the Civil Courts, some fraudulent, some correct enough. The consequence has been that they have very generally ousted the old landlords, and insinuated themselves into their properties.† Troubles of this kind have ruined landlords throughout the length and breadth of the land.

Heavy assessments of lands.

The system of Revenue Settlements, introduced by the English Government does it the greatest credit. But it is heavy compared with former Settlements. Formerly the revenue was realized by sharing the actual crop with the cultivator. Sher Shah claimed for Government one third of the produce of the land, and though this plan had its difficulties, and exposed the Government to som little risk yet the cultivators felt secure, and were little liable to loss. Akbar was the first regularly to adopt this plan of taking one third of the produce. It was by him that the system was matured as may be seen in Mr. Elphinstone's excellent work upon India, and in the Ain-i-akbari. Akbar divided the land into classes, and changed the payments in kind into money payments. The first class which goes by the name of "Pulich" was cultivated yearly, and the produce of this he divided with the cultivators

* Before this book was put into press, the Government of India was taken by Her Majesty the Queen in her own hands from the East India company: and as the book chiefly related to the rule of the E. I. Company in Hindustan, it was not published.

† Vide "the Old Pindari" (In Appendix III) a poem published some years ago.

according to their respective shares. The second class was called "Paroti," and was not kept in constant cultivation, being occasionally allowed to lie fallow in order to strengthen it. The produce of this class of land he shared with the cultivators in such years as it was cultivated. The third class which was called "Chachar" remained uncultivated for 3 or 4 years, and required the expenditure of money in order to make it fertile. In the first year of cultivation, Akbar took two fifths of the produce from this land, increasing his demand yearly, till in the fifth year, he received his full share. The fourth class which was called "Bunjar," and required to lie fallow for more than five years, was treated on still more lenient terms. The way in which the money value of the crops was calculated was as follows. The crop of every beegah, and of every different kind of land was reckoned according to the weight of an average amount of grain produced by such land. For example the average crop of a beegah would be reckoned at 9 maunds of grain, a third of which, namely, 3 maunds would represent the demand of Government on the Cultivator. The grain would then be valued at the average of the price current; and a money rate fixed on the beegah accordingly. The great advantage of this system was, that if the cultivators considered the price fixed by the price tables more than the value of the corn, they had the option of paying in kind. The assessments imposed by the English Government have been fixed without any regard to their various contingencies. Land lying fallow pays in the same proportion as other land. Such lands as are for a time left uncultivated in order that they may acquire strength, are not considered free from assessment. From being cultivated to the same extent year after year land becomes weak and unfruitful, and does not yield an equal amount. It ceases to have the same value as was put upon it at the time of the Settlement. In many districts, every Settlement that was made pressed heavily, and landlords and cultivators were alike reduced to straits. In course of time they were

unable to provide themselves with proper implements. These accordingly became scarce. Land was not properly cultivated. The property became scanty. The cultivators were obliged to borrow money in order to pay the revenue. The interest on these loans ran up. Landlords, formerly men of substance, found themselves suddenly ruined. Villages, in which there happened to be land already lying uncultivated, became more than ever neglected. Mr. Thomason, in Paragraph 64 of his directions to Settlement Officers says that the Settlements under Regulation 9 of 1833 were light on good villages, but pressed heavily on poorer ones. The landlords I admit, can no longer extort rent illegally, or make illicit profits, but they were entitled to more consideration than has been shewn them. Both they and the cultivators have suffered, and hence it is that, notwithstanding the security to life and property which they now enjoy, the landlords look back with regret on the dynasties of former days.

The abolition of Talookdari rights, particularly in the Oudh provinces.

I will not say that to crush the Talookdars was an unjust measure, but it was one of the chief causes of the Rebellion, and especially of the rebellion in Oudh. The Talookdars had long enjoyed the rank of Rajas. They exercised the rights sovereignty in the villages composing their Talookdaries. From these villages, their income was derived. All these rights, and all this income alike were suddenly wrested from them. Here, again, I shall not stop to enquire what other steps could have been taken by Government to secure the undertenants from the oppression of the Talookdars. I have elsewhere entered into the matter. I merely say now that the abolition of the Talookdars was among the causes of the rebellion.

The introduction of stamp paper.

The practice of using stamped papers is peculiar to Europe, where land is scarcely looked upon as a means of revenue. The introduction of this practice into Hindustan, and the gradual risein the

price of stamped paper, which reached its highest amount under Regulation 10, of 1829, were entirely opposed to the spirit of Hindustanee customs. Taking into consideration the general poverty of the Hindustanees, the measure seems to me to have been very unwise. This question of stamped paper has long been an open one, and strong arguments have not been wanting to shew the mischief of the practice, and to prove that it is opposed to all sound rules of Political Economy. This however is a question I shall not discuss here. I would only remark that the question as hitherto argued has had reference to countries, where the people were educated, wealthy, and intelligent. It is easy to see that the Hindustanees, who are becoming more and more impoverished every day, can never hope to bear up under this expense. This system of using stamped paper is one which has been disapproved of by most men of reflection. They argue that to whatever extent it may be unjust to levy a tax on lands, title-deeds, and so on; so much the more is it unwise to levy a tax upon papers intended to aid in the furtherance of justice. Besides the heavy expenses which this system entails, it tends greatly to hinder the actual administration of justice. Mr. Mill, in his book on Political Economy, and Lord Brougham in his work on Political Philosophy have expressed their disapproval of the system, and it must be remembered that all arguments urged against its practice in Europe, carry with them a tenfold force when applied to Hindustan.

The system of Civil Administration in the Bengal provinces superior to that in the Panjab, but requires revision in certain points.

The Civil Courts in the Presidencies of Bengal, and Agra, deserve much praise. They have had nothing to do with the late Rebellion. I know that many Government officers will differ from me on this point, and will prefer the system which has been adopted in the Punjab. But this is a matter which is open to a good deal of doubt. The laws in force in the Punjab are very vague and sketchy. There exist in the

Punjab no commentaries or constructions, for the purpose of explaining or elucidating the laws or adapting them to practice. Each individual judge is a light to himself: and unfortunately it does not happen that a judge is always right in his interpretation. To what confusion is such a state of things likely to lead in the course of time! The Civil Court is the tribunal in which the most implicit trust should be placed. It is the Civil Court on which depend the internal tranquillity of the kingdom, the safe transport of merchandize, the increase of trade, and the establishment of rights. But Punjab Officers pay very little attention to the Civil Courts. They have not indeed the time to do so. Cases requiring long and patient investigation, regarding transfers of right, and a variety of other matters, such as have sprung up in process of time under the English Government and are constantly recurring in the Civil Courts of these Provinces, are as yet unknown in the Punjab.* But when in course of time, such suits are brought into the Civil Courts of the Punjab, the laws by which the judges are at present guided will be found altogether inefficient. The Civil Courts, no doubt, have their share among causes of the rebellion but only in connection with two subjects. The one, the transfer of rights: the other, the issue of decrees for debt. These led to internal riots, but they gave rise to no opposition against Government. They were sores which festered only in the breasts of the parties concerned. Such a state of things might have been expected. Whenever the reins of Government are loosened, the people always begin fighting with each other. Unjust transfers of land, and debts unjustly adjudged due, increased the confusion. Many men, moreover, had fallen victims to trumped up suits, and the blame of these fell upon the Civil Courts. But the incomplete and summary modes of investigation which prevail in the Punjab Civil Courts, and the wrongheadedness of the judges presiding in them, have been productive of no less mischief. Ten years

* It must be borne in mind that this was written in 1858, though not published then.

cannot tell us how the Civil Courts work. Fifty years hence, we may compare the administration of the N. W. P. and the working of its Courts with the administration and Courts of the Punjab; at present the comparison cannot hold. I do not deny that the laws which regulate justice in Bengal and the N. W. P. are capable of improvement. Great delays occur in the decision of cases. The price of stamped paper, and various gradations of of appeal, render appeal too costly for the people. The powers of judges have been in certain respects unduly restricted. Act 19, of 1853 remedied this to some extent, but there is still room for improvement. However, any one caring to see what I have to say on this subject, can read my book on the Government of Hindustan, in which work my views are given in extenso.

Cause. III.

The ignorance of government of the state of the country and their subjects.

The ignorance of Government of the state of the country, and their subjects.

There is no doubt that Government were but slightly acquainted with the unhappy state of the people. How could it well be otherwise? There was no real communication between the Governors and the governed, no living together or near one another as has always been the custom of the Mahommadans in countries which they subjected to their rule. Government and its officials have never adopted this course without which no real knowledge of the people can be gained. It is however not easy to see how this can be done by the English as they almost all look forward to retirement in their native land and seldom settle for good amongst the natives of India.

The people again having no voice in the government of the country could not well better their condition, and if they did try to

make themselves heard by means of petitions, these same petitions were seldom if ever attended to and sometimes never even heard

Local authorities generally unacquainted with the condition of their subjects.

Government it is true received reports from its subordinate officials, but even these officials themselves were ignorant of the real thoughts and opinions of the people, because they had no means of getting at them. The behaviour of these subordinates as a rule, their pride and their treatment of natives is well known. In their presence native gentlemen were afraid, and if they had told these officials of their want of knowledge of the people of their Districts, they would only have been summarily ejected for their pains. All the "Amlah" (readers and clerks) and the civil functionaries as well as wealthy native gentlemen were afraid and consequently did nothing but flatter.

Now Government, although in name only a Government subordinate to a higher Government, was in reality the real Government of this country, and, as such, it ought to have received the complaints and petitions of its people direct and not as it did invariably by reports from its district officers. These are some of the reasons why the real feelings and ways of its people, why the action of new laws passed for that people, their working for good or for bad, for the prosperity or otherwise of the countrymen were unknown or only slightly known to Government. The people were isolated, they had no champion to stand up for their rights and to see justice done to them, and they were constrained to weep in silence.

Overwhelming poverty of the Indians, particularly of the Mahommadans.

Their is nothing wonderful in the fact that the natives were poor and in distress. A native's best profession is service. Now although every one felt the difficulty of getting service, this difficulty pressed most heavily on the Mahommadans. It must be borne in mind that the Hindoos, the original inhabitants of the country, were

never in former days in the habit of taking service, but on the contrary they were each engaged in such work as their forefathers had been engaged in before them. The Brahmins never took service, the Vaishyas were always traders and bankers, the Kshatriyas, once lords of the land, never took service, but each kept his own small portion of land, dividing it amongst his kinsmen and preserving a semblance of authority. They had no standing army, but as occasion required they all united either to resist or to invade as the case might be, as was the custom in former days in Russia. Their was one caste certainly that did take service and these were the "Kayasths."

Scarcity of employments, generally the Muhammadans whose profession . in commonly service were particularly impoverished.

The Mahommadans are not the aborigines of this country. They came in the train of former conquerors and gradually domesticated themselves in India. They were therefore all dependent on service, and on account of this increased difficulty in obtaining the same, they, far more than the Hindoos, were put to much inconvenience and misery. An honorable military service, distinct from that eagerly engaged in by the lower classes of the community, was with difficulty procurable under the British Government. The army, which was composed of sepoys, was not looked upon as a favorable field by the higher class of Mahommadans. True, service was obtainable by them in the Cavalry, but the number of posts in that branch of the service was small compared with what it had been in olden days. Formerly, besides Government service, employment was obtainable in the private retinues or households of Officers of State and large landholders, and these posts were well paid.

It is not so now, as the posts which are now filled by Englishmen do not entail upon the holders the necessity of keeping up a large retinue, and Englishmen, therefore, only have their own few private servants.

The consequence of this was, that when the mutineers wanted recruits, thousands flocked in just as in a famine hungry men rush upon food. Many took service upon one anna or one anna and a half per diem, and many instead of cash, received a couple or perhaps three pounds of grain daily. It is evident, therefore, that however much they might desire service the natives of India were unable to obtain it, the number wanting service being greatly in excess of the number of posts to be filled up.

The same causes induced them to serve the rebels on one anna, one and half anna, or one Seer of flour per diem.

Under the old regime there was another thing which contributed to the prosperity of the people, viz., the custom of bestowing "Jagirs," (grants of land or presents) At the coronation of the emperor Shah Jehan at Delhi, no less than 400,000, beegahs, 120 villages, and tens of thousands pounds of sterling were given away in presents This is never done now a days and not only is it not the case now but even "jagirs" (grants of land) bestowed on the recipients in former days have been forfeited. Having thus shewn the unsatisfactory state into which the Zemindars and cultivators have fallen, I must also state that petty artisans have suffered severely by the opening up of the trade with England, as they cannot of course compete with machinery. No one even thinks now-adays of buying country made thread or matches, and the country cloth weavers have been ruined. When by the Divine Will, Hindustan became an appauage of the Crown of Great Britain, it was the duty of Government to enquire into and lessen as much as possible the sufferings of its subjects. By not doing so many who would otherwise have been staunch friends of the British, joined the rebels.

The stoppage of charitable pensions and stipends tending in a great measure to the poverty of the Indians.

The issue of Government Notes is another cause of injury to India, such as was never the case under any former Government. The interest of the money which Government borrowed, the expense of

The investment of capital in Government loan.

collecting the money to pay for that interest and the benefit which Government derived from the money borrowed was all taken from the country.

Poverty the cause of the subject's rejoicing at the idea of a change of Government, and wishing for it.

Families who in former years and under the former rulers of this country were great and powerful have, under this Government, been reduced to poverty. This was one great reason of the dissatisfaction felt in India and one great reason in my opinion why they were inclined for a change of rulers. When the British were victorious in Affghanistan, the people mourned. Why was this? Because they thought that they would now be compelled to relinquish the cherished faith of their forefathers and become Christians When in addition to this Gwalior was conquered and the Punjab and Oudh annexed, this fear gained ground. In these native states, natives were eligible for high public posts, and native wares were always saleable there. When therefore the native Courts of these states were done away with, these openings and aids to the people of India were suddenly cut off. The English Government, had however, many, very many good points. I do not condemn it entirely. The feeling of security which the subject enjoys under the British rule, of ease and of freedom, the many good roads, the putting down of dacoitee, thuggee and highway robbery; the facilities afforded to travellers, the ease with which merchants could transport their goods to far off localities, the benefit to all, rich and poor alike, which accrued from the extension of the cheap postal system, the decrease of murders and deadly affrays, the protection of the poor from the oppression of the rich, these and many other blessings have never been enjoyed under any former Government, and in all probability never will. But it must be borne in mind that the benefits derived from the above do not efface the feeling that I have above pourtrayed. Another thing is that this good government benefits more especially merchants and women who have always been loud in their praises of it because it protected them from

lawless affrays, dacoitees, from the Amils (men formerly put in charge of Districts by the Sovereign and who exercised great oppression) and from many other numerous evils. They therefore, deriving benefit as they did from the government, were not against it.

Cause IV

Neglect in matters which should have Received Consideration from Government.

I will now proceed to shew what duties Government ought to have fulfilled and which it did not fulfil.

Neglect in matters which should have received consideration of Government.

I feel it most necessary to say that which is in my heart and which I believe to be true even at the risk of its being distasteful to many of the ruling race. What I am now going to treat of is that which if only done in a right way will attract even wild animals, causing them to love instead of to dread, and which therefore will, in a much greater degree, attract men. I cannot here state at length what the benefits of friendship, intercourse and sympathy are, but I maintain that the maintenance of friendly relations between the governors and the governed is far more necessary than between individuals, private friendships only affect a few, friendship and good feeling between a Government and its subjects affects a nation. As in private friendships two persons are united by the bond of a common friendship, so also should a Government and its people be knit together in like manner. *The people and the Government* I may liken to a tree, the latter being the root and the former the growth of that root. As the root is so will the tree be. What! Was such intimacy impossible under this Government? Most certainly not. We have numerous instances in which foreigners and natives of countries have been brought in contact with each other and of their becoming friends, even when their religions and countries were

Want of cordiality towards the Indians.

different and widely separated. And why was this? Just because they wished and did their utmost to become so. How often do we not see strifes and enmities between people of the same race, religion and customs. Friendship, intercourse and sympathy are therefore not wholly dependent for their existence merely on the giver's and recipient's being of the same religion, race or country.

Does not the Apostle Paul admonish us in these beautiful words? "And the Lord make you to increase, and abound in love one toward another, and toward all men, even as we do toward you" 1st Epistle of Paul to the Thessalonians Ch. III verse 12. And does not Jesus admonish us in these? "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them, for this is the law and the Prophets" Matthew, VII 12.

These were meant to inculcate friendship and love to all men, and no one, no wise and thoughtful man will say that the admonition is wrong, that friendship and love to our fellow-men are not beneficial, that their results are nil, and that they do not blot out much that is wicked. As yet, truth compels me to state, Government has not cultivated the friendship of its people as was its duty to do. The Creator has instilled it into the heart of man and the instinct of animals that the strong should be kind to and care for the weak. The father loves his child before the child loves him. The man tries to win the woman, not the woman the man. If a man of low degree try to win the esteem of one in high position, he is liable to be styled a flatterer and not a friend. It was, therefore, for Government to try and win the friendship to its subjects, not for the subjects to try and win that of the Government. If it had done so the results would have been great and the people would have rejoiced. Alas! that it has not done so. If Government say that what I say is untrue, that they have tried to cultivate friendship and have only been repaid with enmity, I can only say, that if it had gone the right way to work, its subjects would

most undoubtedly have been its friend and supporters, instead of, as in many instances, rising up in arms against it. Now friendship is a feeling which springs from the heart and which cannot be kindled by "admonitions." Men may meet on very friendly terms, but it does not therefore follow that they are friends in the real sense of the word that they are friends at heart as well as in outward signs. This is a link, as it were, between heart, a man instinctively feels that he likes a man or the contrary. Government has hitherto kept itself as isolated from the people of India as if it had been the fire and they the dry grass, as if it thought that were the two brought in contact, the latter would be burnt up. It and its people were like two different sorts of stone, one white and the other black, which stones too were being daily more and more widely separated. Now the relations between them ought to have been close like those between the streaks of white and black in the stone called Abri in which we see the former close alongside of the latter, the one blending with the other. Government was of course perfectly right in maintaining special friendly relation with its Christian subjects (the English) but it was at the same time incumbent upon it to show towards its native subjects that brotherly kindness which the Apostle Paul exhorts us to in these words. "And to godliness brotherly kindness and to brotherly kindness charity" II Peter 1 7 It must be borne in mind, that the blood of the Mahommadan conquerors and that of the people of the country was not the same, that their faith was not the same, their manners and customs not the same; that in their hearts the people did not like them; and that at first there was little or no amalgamation of the two. What then was the secret of their becoming friends? Let us glance at the former Indian dynasties. First came that of the Mahommadan conquerors. In the reign of the Turks and Pathans, there was no intercourse between the conquerors and the conquered until the Government of the former was made irm and easy. A feeling of cordiality was first established in the reign of the Mogul-

In ancient times as long as cordiality was not observed by the reigning powers, tranquillity was not established.

Emperor Akbar I; and continued till the reign of Shah Jehan. No doubt, owing to many defects in the system of Government the people were subjected to many evils, but these were lightened by the feelings just mentioned. This feeling unfortunately ceased during the reign of Alumgeer, A. D. 1779, when, owing to the rebellion of several Hindoos of note, such as Sewajee, the Mahratta etc., Alumgeer vowed vengeance against them all and sent orders to all his Lieutenants to treat them with rigour and harshness and to exempt none from paying tribute. The injury and disaffection which therefore ensued are well known. Now the English Government has been in existence upwards of a century, and up to the present hour has not secured the affections of the people.

Treating the Indians with contempt.

One great source of the stability of a Government is undoubtedly the treating of its subjects with honour and thus gaining their affections. Though a man's income be but small, treat him with honor and he is far more gratified than if he were presented with three or four times the amount than be treated with contempt. Contempt is an ineradicable wrong. Being treated contemptuously sinks deep into a man's heart, and although uninjured by the same as to his worldly goods, he still becomes an enemy. The wound rankles deep and cannot be healed, that given by a sword can be healed, but that inflicted by a contemptuous word can *not*. The results of kindness are different, an enemy even if treated courteously becomes a friend; friends by friendly intercourse, become greater friends, and strangers if treated in a friendly manner are no longer strangers. By kindness we make the brute creature our willing slaves, how much more then would such treatment cement the bonds between a Government and its people? Now in the first years of the British rule in India, the people were heartily in favor of it. This good feeling the Government has now forfeited and the natives very generally say that they are treated with contempt. A native gentleman is

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in the eyes of any petty Official, as much lower than that Official as that same Official esteems himself lower than a Duke. The opinion of many of these Officials is that no native can be a gentleman.

The ill-temper and uncourtly address of local authorities towards the natives.

Now as Government is, throughout India, represented by its officials, it follows as a matter of course that the natives will judge of the temper of Government towards them by what they see of these officials. However good the intention of Government with regard to its subjects may be, unless these same officials give practical proof thereof by kind treatment of the natives, the people will not believe in them. Theory and practice are not one and the same. In these days, or rather within the last few years the feeling of officials towards natives is not nearly so favorable as was formerly the case. In olden days natives were treated with honor and in a friendly manner by these officials and, consequently to use a native expression "they carried their (the natives) hearts in their hands". They sympathized with them in their joys and sorrows, and this too, notwithstanding their high position. They were consequently greatly liked, and the natives used to say "How wonderful is this treatment from men in the highest position, who, though wielding the reins of empire are still without pride!"

Natives of rank were also treated in a highly honorable manner. They (the officials) really followed the precepts of St. Peter "And to Godliness brotherly kindness to brotherly kindness, charity." II Peter V. 7., the reverse of which is unfortunately the case as regards the greater number of the officials of the present day. Has not their pride and arrogance caused them to esteem the Hindustani as nothing in their eyes, and have not their ill-temper and want of solicitude for the natives, caused them to be looked upon with dread by the latter? Is it not well-known to Government that even natives of the highest rank never come into the

presence of officials, but with an inward fear and trembling? Is it a secret that the "Amlah" (native "court officials") are often addressed harshly and abused by their superiors whilst reading out papers to them? These men, many of them of good birth, often inwardly exclaim "Oh! that I could gain my living otherwise, cutting grass by the wayside were better than this." I do not say that the behaviour of all English officials is like this. There are many who are well known for their kindness and friendly feeling toward the natives and these are in consequence much beloved by them, are, to use a native expression, as the sun and the moon to them, and are pointed out as types of the old race of officials.

These men truly follow the admonition of Christ Jesus who said to Simon called Peter and Andrew his brother when they were fishing "Follow me and I will make you fishers of men. They, by their good character have drawn the people to them, as it were, in a net, they have not treated them with useless arrogance, without which some think that a high position in the eyes of the natives cannot be kept up. They have earned that blessing which Christ enunciated: "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. V 3). They have treated the people with gentleness and leniency and have ruled the land according to the precept "Blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the earth." Matt. V. 5. They have also let their light shine before men, as Christ enjoined in Matthew, V. 16. "Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works and glorify your father which is in heaven."

Few in number, wherever they are, they are held dear by the natives.

This treatment before alluded to was most offensive to all the people of India; but most especially so to the Mahommadans. The reasons for this are clear. For centuries the Mahommadan's position in

The illtreatment more repugnant to the feelings of the Mahommadans, and its cause.

India has been an honorable one. There is an element of shame in his disposition. He has no grasping desire for money, he esteems honor above all other things, and there are many proofs on record, which shew that the Mahommadan is not easily brought to do that, which, under the influence of temptation, other races in India will do without compunction. It may be that this is wrong but God having instilled it into him, his views and feelings cannot easily be changed. It may be unfortunate but, it is inculcated into them by their religion and is no fault of theirs. This illtreatment then it was which pained them grievously and which caused them heartily to wish for a change of Governors and to hear with joy of anything that was opposed to the present Government. It is much to be regretted that the Mahommadans did not know that Government was doing its utmost to further their interests, their education and to uphold their honor This they did not know, as the intentions and wishes of Government were never made known by their various officials.

Exclusion of natives from promotion to high appointments. Lord Bentink's system of employing natives in high grades of service an inadequate one.

Another great reason for the dissatisfaction of the natives of India, and more especially of the Mahommadans, was the exclusion of natives from high appointments. A few short years ago Mahomadans filled the most honorable posts under their own Government and the desire and hope for such is still in them. Under the English Government they longed for the advancement of their honor in the eyes of the world, but there was no way open to them. In the early days of this Government, natives of rank were certainly singled out to fill high posts, but by degrees this fell into disuse. The assertion by Mahommadans, that the practice of holding examinations is a bad one, is a mistaken one. If they have not the qualifications to enable them to pass, they must not blame the system; undoubtedly the examination system goes far towards procuring an efficient staff of public servants, but many natives are

appointed to high posts who, in the estimation of their country-men are very small indeed. In the giving of certificates very little was thought of family and honor. Lord Bentinck did most for the advancement of the natives in this respect, but the high appointments which he bestowed upon a select few were utterly inadequate to the wants of the people. English officers of the highest rank have often admitted this of late years. Now is the passing an examination a sim qua non in England ? are the best English statesmen invariably those who have passed high examinations ? Are high diplomatic posts not often given to them on account of their birth and practical common sense and sometimes even without the latter qualification ?

The not holding of Durbars by the Governor General of India and not conferring rank and honor due to merit according to the usage of former emperors.

The people of India have, from time immemorial been always in the habit of attending the Durbars (levees) of their Sovereign and have always enjoyed seeing his pomp and state and influence. This feeling of gladness at the sight of the sovereign is a feeling instinctively felt by every one. Man feels the power of the ruler when thus brought face to face with him and acknowleges himself to be his subject. Now although the Governor General of India was certainly, whilst on tour, in the habit of holding durbars, still the few that he did hold were not sufficient for the wants of the country, Lords Auck land and Ellenborough held right regal durbars. This perhaps may not have been approved of by the Home Government, but it was a most excellent thing for India, although even their durbars were too few in number. May the Almighty always watch over and protect our most gracious sovereign Queen Victoria and Her representation in India, His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General. Let us hope that the heartfelt wants of the natives of this country may be listened to and gradually satisfied.

The only real kingdom is that of the Almighty who created

The observation of these rules by Lords Auckland and Ellenborough a very proper one.

the world. He however, made the kings of this world as a type of what He Himself is in order that man on seeing his sovereign, should recollect that there is the still greater one who made him. For this reason many wise and able men have laid down that the good qualities of the Almighty, such as bounty, kindness etc., should also be found represented in earthly Kings, hence the title "Shadowed of God" It is therefore, incumbent on earthly kings to treat their subjects with that bountiful liberality with which the Almighty has treated the whole world. It may appear at first sight bad policy to spend the public money in rewarding slight services, but in my humble opinion this practice is calculated to increase the loyalty of the subject and thus to render the empire more stable. It is a well-known saying that "kindness and beneficence make slaves of men", therefore when the people see those virtues in their ruler, true love towards him and a desire to serve him faithfully and loyally are germinated in their hearts. We know from history that this was the case in olden days and under various dynasties in India, and that the nobles and the people at large had honors and gifts, such as titles, money, land and other valuables, bestowed upon them with no sparing hand. The recipients felt honored and pleased, were held in greater honor by their brethern, and the nation at large liked the practice, as being one which had come down to them from remote ages. Government put a stop to this and no one could expect much in the way of rewards and honors from it. When, therefore, the people heard that the Government of India had been formally assumed by Her Majesty Queen Victoria, they rejoiced as they were longing for a change.

The expenses of former rulers of India were of two sorts, viz., money spent on their own private luxuries and debauches which were undoubtedly wrong and disapproved of by the people, and that spent in rewarding faithful servants, victorious generals, learned

men, faqueers (men of sanctity), poets, beggars or on the deserving poor, which latter expenditure was very popular. The discontinuance of the same by the British has displeased the people, especially the recipients, who from being always well cared for were unable to work for their bread. Now this system is undoubtedly bad as it makes the people lazy and not induced to help themselves, and much better is it that the rewards be discontinued and freedom be granted to the subject, that thus he may earn his daily bread himself; but this boon of freedom can only be appreciated when the people become educated and contented and not all at once. It is like taking the reins out of a horse's mouth, turning him loose and turning him out into the jungle to find his food for himself. What is the result? He either dies or remains a wild animal all his days giving the rein to his passions. If a man be thus treated he will either rob, murder or rebel.

The facts of the rebellion in India appeared more serious to the authorities than they in reality were, their causes.

Men's minds under the influence of anger are apt to lose sight of the true causes of any event and to be warped by a desire for vengeance. The events of the year 1857 were no doubt so dreadful as to justify the feelings of anger and desire for vengeance which had full possession of the hearts of the English during that awful year; but at the same time we must find out what, at that time, was the condition of Hindustan, how the rebellion really commenced, why it attained such a height, and why, in certain districts more misled Mahommadans rebelled than in others. It must be borne in mind that for centuries past the condition of India has been unsettled, that from time immemorial, its people have been accustomed to flock in thousands to the standard of any powerful noble (Ameer) who attained any success in the field and that they never held their doing so to be criminal accepting responsible posts in the administration of his country for the time being. It is well known in India that the taking of service is no offence. Whoever pays is served. It is

thought wrong not to tender allegiance to a king who may have been proclaimed king in the place of another deposed The various kings and princes of Hindustan have never, on conquering an enemy's country, attached any blame to the servants, whether Civil or Military, of that enemy and the people were aware of this. When the leaders of the rebellion called for recruits, thousands of poor men wanting service, flocked in and took it. They thought there was nothing wrong in doing so, as their livelihood was procured by such service. Many thought that the British rule in Hindustan was at an end and that therefore it was their duty to tender their allegiance to the reigning powers i. e. to the rebels. Many officials also thought that lives would be spared by feigning to be on the rebel side and that when the British rule was re-established, they could throw off the mask. These men were however found guilty, although, undoubtedly many amongst them were true subjects of the British. Many also there were, servants of Government and others who, under compulsion, or through ignorance, or from being merely mortal, committed themselves, and then, thinking that their sin, committed perhaps under great temptation or perhaps under compulsion, would not be pardoned and would meet with severe punishment cast in their lot entirely with the rebels. Others, there were who had really done nothing; but through fear &c. joined the rebels. Many also as before stated, joined them thinking it no crime to do so. If the whole facts regarding the rebellion be thoroughly sifted, I feel certain that we shall find that just as many Hindoos were concerned therein as Mahommadans, and the proof of this will be found in what took place all over Hindustan. It must not be supposed that the reason why, in some districts, the Mahommadans who rebelled were greater in number than the Hindoos, was that the King of Delhi, who was their head claimed the throne of Delhi or that they were in reality as rebellious as they seemed to be. No! small acts said to have been committed by them were seized upon and

magnified by their enemies, and the minds of the officials wer worked upon and poisoned against them. The breach was thus widened, the English becoming more and more angry, and the Mahommadans more and more afraid and hopeless. It was their fate to have their actions misrepresented and to have the minds of their rulers poisoned against them. There were, no doubt, many Mahommadans who did rebel and whose rebellion we must enter in the V Class. These men were delighted at the prospect of a change of Government for reasons already shewn. Nevertheless Government are no doubt well aware what race it was and what men, that proved most faithful even unto death. All men are guilty, in His eyes, who is the only true Ruler

They are also guilty in the eyes of earthly kings, temporarily put in authority by Him.

The Psalmist has truly said, "Enter not into judgment with thy servant, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified." Psalm cxliii, 2. "Have mercy upon me O God according to Thy loving kindness, according unto the multitude of Thy tender mercies, blot out my transgressions" (2) "Wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity, and cleanse me from my sins." Psalms li. 1. & 2.

The Almighty is the preserver of our Most Gracious Majesty, Queen Victoria. Words of mine cannot sufficiently praise the most merciful and considerate proclamation issued by Her Gracious Majesty.

The promulgation of Her Majesty's Proclamation highly commendable, indeed may be said to have originated under divine inspiration.

The hand of the Almighty is on Her Gracious head and this proclamation has been inspired by God. There is an ancient custom in Hindustan, which is that whenever a new king ascends the throne, rightly or wrongly, all the nobles of the land present themselves to pay their respects. This was the case in the rebellion. When the people heard that the

Emperor of Delhi had ascended the throne, they presented themselves, and when he was deposed and imprisoned, men knew perfectly well that the same people would tender their allegiance to the English. The rebel army itself might perhaps not do this, but the reasons for their not doing so need not be treated of here.

Cause V

The Insubordinate state of the Indian Forces.

The English army system in India has always been faulty and one great fault was the paucity of English troops. When Nadir Shah conquered Khorassan and became master of the two kingdoms of Persia and Affghanistan, he invariably kept the two armies at equal strength. The one consisted or rather was composed of Persians and Kuzul Bashies, and the other was composed of Affghans. When the Persian army attempted to rise, the Affghan army was at hand to quell the rebellion and *vice versâ.* The English did not follow this precedent in India. The Sepoy army was no doubt faithful in its day and served the Government well, but how could Government feel certain that it would never act contrary to its orders? What measures had Government taken for quelling at once on the spot any emeute in that vast army, such as that which happened last year?

The paucity of the English forces.

Government certainly did put the two antagonistic races into the same regiment, but constant intercourse had done its work and the two races in regiment had almost become one. It is but natural and to be expected, that a feeling of friendship and brotherhood must spring up between the men of a regiment, constantly brought together as they are. They consider themselves as one body and thus it was that the difference which exists between Hindoos and Mahammadans had, in these regiments, been almost entirely smoothed away.

If these two castes formed distinct Regiments perhaps the Muhammadans would not have objected to the use of the new cartridges.

The employment of Hindoos and Mahommadans in the same regiment.

If a portion of the regiment engaged in anything, all the rest joined. If separate regiments of Hindoos and separate regiments of Mahommadans had been raised, this feeling of brotherhood could not have arisen and, in my opinion, the Mahommadan regiments would not have refused to receive the new cartridges. Owing to the paucity of the European element, the people of India only stood in awe of the Sepoys who thus became puffed up with pride and thought that there were none like them in the world. They looked upon the European portion of the army as a myth and thought that the many victories which the English had gained were gained entirely by their own prowess. A common saying of their's was, that they had enabled the English to conquer Hindustan from Burmah to Cabul. This pride of the Sepoys was most marked after the Punjab was conquered. So far had it gone that they made objections to anything which they did not like, and I believe even remonstrated when ordered to march consequent on the yearly reliefs. It was precisely at this time, when the army was imbued with this feeling of pride and the knowledge or rather conjecture that Government would grant anything they stood out for, that the new cartridges were issued, cartridges which they really believed were made up with fat and the using of which would destroy their caste. They refused to bite them. When the regiment at Barrackpore was disbanded and the general order announcing the same was read out to each regiment, the deepest grief was felt throughout the army. They thought that the refusal to bite the cartridges, the biting of which would have destroyed their caste, was no crime at all, that the men of the disbanded regiment were not in the least to blame and that their disbandment was an act utterly devoid of justice on the part of Government. The whole army deeply regretted ever having had anything to do with Government. They felt that they had shed their blood in its cause and conquered many countries for it, that in return it wished to

The pride of the Indian forces and its causes.

take away their caste and had dismissed those who had justly stood out for their rights. There was however, no open rebellion just then as they had only been disbanded and had not been treated with greater severity; but, partly from feeling certain that the cartridges were mixed with fat, partly from grief at seeing their comrades disbanded at Barrackpore and still more by reason of their pride, arrogance and vanity, the whole army was determined, come what might, not to bite the cartridges.

The league of the Indian Army against the use of the new cartridges: formed after January 1857.

Correspondence was undoubtedly actively carried on in the army after the events at Barrackpore, and messages were sent telling the men not to bite the cartridges. Up to this time there was a strong feeling of indignation and irritation in the army, but in my opinion, there was no intention of rebelling

The impropriety of punishing the non-commissioned officers at Meerut which touched the vanity of the Indian forces.

The fatal month of May 1857 was now at hand in which the army was punished in a manner which thinking men know to have been most wrong and most inopportune. The anger, which the news of this punishment created in the minds of the Sepoys was intense. The prisoners on seeing their hands and feet manacled, looked at their medals and wept. They remembered their services and thought how they had been recompensed, and their pride, which as I have before said was the feeling of the whole army, caused them to feel the degradation all the more keenly. Then the rest of the troops at Meerut were fully persuaded that they would either be compelled to bite the cartridges or undergo the same punishment. This rage and grief led to the fearful events of the 10th of May which events are unparalleled in the annals of history. After committing themselves thus, the mutineers had no choice left but to continue in their career of rebellion.

When the news of the outbreak became known the irritation

Want of confidence in the Indian forces towards Government after the occurrences of Meerut.

of the Sepoys increased. The whole army felt that their confidence in Government was at an end, that Government was only waiting for an opportunity to punish them all and hence it was that their confidence in what their officers did and said was scattered to the winds. They used to say, "Government says this and that just at present, but when all is quiet again it will not do what it says it will do" I state on the best authority that thousands of the Sepoys who composed the rebel army in Delhi, were sorry for the acts that had been committed and for having rebelled so insanely. Whilst the seige was going on they used to say with tears in their eyes that fate had caused them to do this. "What could we do," said they, "except rebel?" We were never sure what punishment was not in store for us as Government had no confidence in us On an opportunity offering, we should have been compelled to do anything.". At the commencement of the rebellion, when it was known that a force was going to be sent out towards the river Hindan but before any force had gone out, many stated it to be their conviction that when the two opposing forces met, the whole of the native portion would desert from the British. This was verified by the result; and the reason for it was, that when it came to fighting against their brethern, no one would remain true as they said when with our aid the English conquer our comrades, they will then turn their attention to us! All therefore joined in the rebellion, even those who wished to remain faithful to their salt, were carried away by the majority. Now the people were perfectly well aware that the Government were almost entirely dependent on the Sepoy army; when therefore it became known that, that army had revolted, the people also became riotous. They no longer were in awe of the Government.

Let us now see how these opinions of mine affect the rebellion, or "part rebellion" which took place in the Punjab. The Mahommadans there had been greatly oppressed by the Sikhs, and had received no injury at the hands of the British. When the British first took the country, oppression was rife. This was day by day decreasing, whilst the contrary was the case in Hindustan proper. The whole of the Punjab, when first annexed, was disarmed, and thus the weapons necessary for rebellion were not forthcoming. The Sikhs too, though not so wealthy as in former days, had still sufficient to live upon, chiefly from monies which they had inherited. The poverty which was rife in Hindustan had not yet had time to become rife in the Punjab. Besides these there were other cogent reasons, why the Punjab remained tranquil. Firstly, there was a powerful European army on the spot, Secondly, the wisdom shewn by the officials in at once disarming the sepoys. Thirdly, the number of the rivers and the shutting up of the ferries on them, which rendered the few who did rebel, powerless. Fourthly, all the Sikhs, Punjabees and Pathans, who might otherwise have tried their hand at rebellion, had already taken service or were being formed into corps and the desire for the plunder of Hindustan was strong on them. We thus find that the service which the people of India took in the rebel army under such difficulty and changes was easily obtained in Government service in the Punjab. The circumstances of the Punjab were quite different from those of Hindustan proper.

Why the mutiny did not break out in the Punjab and its causes.

APPEANDIX NO. I.

The the time appears to have come when earnest consideration should be given to the subject, whether or not all men should embrace the same system of Religion. Railways, Steam Vessels and the Electric Telegraph, are rapidly uniting all the nations of the earth : the more they are brought together, the more certain does the conclusion become, that all have the same wants, the same anxieties, the same hopes, the same fears, and therefore, the same nature and the same origin. It is also very certain that death universally closes the scene.

Is there, then, no means by which the sorrows and anxieties of life can be alleviated, and by which comfort can be given to all men in the hour of death? Is it rational to suppose that each nation is to find out a way for itself, by mere guess? or has the one God, who made all, appointed different methods of obtaining present and future happiness to different portions of His family? Surely, this cannot be.

Now CHRISTIANITY is a system which professes to have come by direct revelation from God Himself, as the only system by which happiness can be secured in this world, or in that other world which it reveals. It has this peculiarity to distinguish it from every other system of religion in the world, that it appeals to the *reason* as well as to the *heart* of man, and it is the *only* system in the world, which has spread by the mere force of argument. The nations which believe in it are the most thoughtful and the most civilised in the earth, so that it has, at all events, a claim to be heard on its own behalf.

Having received the greatest blessings from it ourselves, we are anxious that others also should be induced to receive them,

and therefore, this solemn and earnest appeal is made to you to examine this important subject for yourself. The arguments in its favour are very numerous; this paper will dwell only upon one of them, but that one will be quite sufficient to establish the point.

A man called Jesus was born in a place called Bethleham, in the land of Judea, about 1159 years ago. He was a man of low birth, and in poor circumstances, but he professed to be a teacher sent by God to point out the only way which would lead unto God. After going about the country for three years preaching, he was put to death by the Roman Government at the solicitation of the Jewish Priests. So far all is admitted universally: the death of Jesus is a *fact*, as the death of Julius Cæsar is a fact, and no person thinks of doubting the one fact more than the other. The Jews, the greatest enemies of Jesus and his doctrine, glory in it, and they are the best witnesses we could desire.

His followers say, that he rose again from the dead. This is the *one great fact* upon which the *whole* system of Christianity depends; if it is true, the Gospel is true—for no person could rise from the dead except by the power of God, and God would not raise from the dead any person whose life and doctrine was not pleasing unto Him; if it is false, the Gospel is false.

We would respectfully and earnestly urge you to direct your whole attention to this *one* point. Did Jesus rise from the dead, or did he not? We must bring witnesses of the fact, here they are; Peter, James, John, Matthew, Matthias, Thomas, Jude, Mary Magdalene, Cleophas and 500 others, whose names are not now known. Many of these persons were the chosen friends, who had been constantly with Jesus for three years before his death; they could not therefore have been mistaken as to his person; they came forward within 50 days of his death and declared that he had risen again, in the very place where, and among the very

people by whom, he had been crucified; they had nothing to gain by this declaration, but every thing to lose, not improbably their own lives, and yet they persuaded some thousands of persons that what they said was true—so much so that the name of this despised and hated man was now, by those who had rejected Him, worshipped and revered; they continued telling the same fact as long as they lived, not only in Judea, but over all the Roman Empire: many of them showed their sincerity by allowing themselves to be put to torture and death for saying so, when they might have escaped, had they only said it was false: though ignorant and unlettered men, they persuaded thousands, all over the Empire, to believe them, to forsake their own religion, and to embrace the one they taught, notwithstanding scorn and death: they held out no promises of earthly comfort and honor to induce men to believe them, but rather the contrary: they were not satisfied with a formal adhesion to their views; but they required self-denial and holiness of life, which all men naturally dislike; they said that even the new religion would not save any man; and yet though they thus gained nothing themselves, and told others that they must not expect to gain anything either, they satisfied men that Jesus *did* rise again! and this so effectually, that from the most obscure corner of the Roman Empire, the doctrine preached by uneducated fishermen, about a poor carpenter's son, spread over the whole Empire even after their death, and overthrew every other system of religion though sanctioned by the consent of ages!

We have likewise the evidence of persons who did not become preachers of the New Doctrine, to prove the fact of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ; the soldiers who were placed as a guard at the grave *saw it*, and told the priests of it, and they found it necessary to invent an absurd story to account for the admitted disappearance of the body!

The only evidence which any person could desire, which we

do not possess, is that of the public; it may be said why did He not show Himself publicly to all, especially to those persons who put Him to death? Various reasons may be assigned for this, derived from the nature of the doctrine which He taught; into these it is impossible at present to enter; but it must be observed, that the want of this evidence in no way affects the truth of that which we do possess: if a number of persons who knew Him intimately, *saw* Him and *spoke* to Him, and *ate* with Him upon several occasions, it certainly does not tend to shake their evidence to ask, why did not others see Him also? Whenever He appeared all who were present at that place at that time saw Him, upon one occasion to the number of 500! So that it was not an apparition, but a reality One person, by name Thomas, said that he would not believe that it was really his old friend, till he had put his hand into the holes caused by the nails in His hands, and into that caused by the spear in His side; but even he was satisfied!

We earnestly entreat you to consider these *facts*; if there is any flaw in the evidence, point it out; but if not, then admit that it is true, that Jesus Christ did rise from the dead,—and embrace the Gospel.

This resurrection of Jesus Christ is an assurance unto all men, that God hath appointed a day in which He will judge the world in righteousness; you will then stand before Him; you will be called upon to answer for the evil thoughts, the evil words, and the evil actions of which you have been guilty. Are you prepared to do so? There is no man living who is. But all guilt is pardoned in the case of every one who *trusts* in Jesus Christ as His Saviour, for holiness is conferred upon him likewise, so that he will be prepared even for that dreadful day.

We urge you, therefore, as you value your own happiness *for ever*, to examine this great subject, and to ask God himself to enable you, by His Holy Spirit's teaching, to do so aright. Think

over it and examine it in private; do so with others also to whom as well as to yourself, this letter is addressed; confine your attention to *the one* point, whether or not those persons are to be believed who said *they saw* Jesus Christ after He had risen from the dead: If you do so, you will be convinced by all the rules of evidence, that Jesus Christ *did* rise from the dead, and that *therefore* the Gospel is a true and the only Revelation from God.

Then be courageous and embrace it publicly: for He said Himself "whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words, in this adulterous and sinful generation, of him also shall the Son of Man be ashamed when He cometh in the Glory of His Father with the Holy Angels." We long to see churches thronged with the natives of this land, in which the glad tidings of the Gospel shall regularly be proclaimed by your own countrymen, and not by strangers only; in which women, as well as men, shall be urged to repent of their sins, and to prepare to meet their God; in which children shall be taught lessons of morality and truth, to guide their conduct in this world, and lessons of holiness and peace to fit them for the next, and in which death shall be spoken of as an enemy no longer to be feared, for his sting has been taken away by "Our Saviour Jesus Christ who hath abolished death, and brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel." That this will yet be the case we are assured by God himself: we long for the time when it shall be fully realized. Why not in this generation? Would it not be an infinite improvement upon the foolish, degrading and wicked idolatry, which now defiles the land? "We speak as to wise men, judge ye what we say."

⁂ Any answers that may be sent to this letter, will be received and acknowledged, D. V., if addressed to the care of E. Edmond, Esq., Calcutta, prepaid.

APPEANDIX NO. II.

TRANSLATION OF A PERSIAN NOTICE ISSUED BY H. H. THE LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF BENGAL.

His Honor the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, having heard that the people of the Country are unnecessarily apprehensive and uneasy on account of certain unreasonable and unfounded stories, fabricated and spread by people equally unreasonable and prejudiced, with regard to the religious rites and ceremonies of the Hindoos and Muhamadans, hereby notifies that Government has no intention of interfering in the matters of religion, rites and cermonies of the country, nor can it ever have such an intention. His Honor is sorry to find that the people of this country are unnecessarily alarmed at stories invented by seditious persons, and that they do not try to ascertain the truth. He hopes that when the facts are made known to them, all suspicions will be removed from their minds, and that they will rest assured as regards the intentions of the Government towards them. The principal object of the Government is and ever shall be to protect the life, honor, and property of its subjects, to respect their laws and customs and to do what it can to promote their welfare.

Some of the Calcutta Missionaries have, as is their wont, but without the sanction of the Government, published religious discourses and circulated them amongst the natives who have wrongly understood them to have come indirectly from the Government. The Government has however had no hand in the affair. No attempt was ever made on behalf of Government to persuade the natives to embrace the faith professed by the Government. It is evident that the inhabitants of this country belong to different races and profess different creeds and religions, and are governed by different laws. They have how been long

living under the protection of the Government, but the Government, instead of interfering in the religious rites and ceremonies of any class of its subjects, always regards them all as equal in its sight. The proceedings of the Christian Ministers above alluded to are part of their ordinary duties. They are in fact lectures of the same kind as are generally delivered in Muhamadan Mosques and Hindoo temples on subjects bearing upon faith. A little consideration will shew that there is nothing new in the matter, that discussions on religious subjects are common amongst the votaries of different faiths, and that the Government has no concern with them.

The reports, spread in some News-papers that all the Muharrum-ceremonies, the parda system of the Zenana, the rite of circumcission and other rites and ceremonies practised under Muhamadan and Hindoos Laws are soon to be done away with by orders of Government must be considered as false and fabricated stories. These reports have no ground whatever. The Government cannot possibly meddle with these ceremonies.

To distinguish the Jail from the home, certain Jail Superintendents, ignorant of the customs and creeds of the country, divested prisoners of their necessary utensils used in eating and drinking, and of course without the knowledge and consent of the Government. But no sooner was this brought to notice of Government than orders were telegraphed to put a stop to their proceedings.

His Honor has been further given to understand that the inhabitants of this country regard the establishment of Schools and Colleges for the education of the natives in Arts and Sciences and in the English language as a means to mislead them from their faith, and that for this reason they are disinclined to send their children to School.- This is undoubtedly a great mistake of theirs. The step has been misunderstood by the people. Know-

ing that the natives of India are generally ignorant and therefore live in want, the Supreme Government has been pleased to establish Schools and Colleges for their education in Sciences and Arts of life, and for the amelioration of their condition in general, and to appoint Inspectors and native subordinates to superintend the work, so that the people may earn their bread more comfortably and live in a better style.

It is a well known fact that the people of England, by their advancement in learning, are able to do every thing properly, whereas the people of India owing to their ignorance can do nothing. If knowledge be generally diffused among them, all would live much more comfortably than they do now. It is a matter of great regret that the people have misunderstood the policy and the good intentions of Government in matters of education. His Honor however believes that the origin of all these evils is a misapprehension on the part of the natives, and that they do not proceed from prejudices or ill feelings. Be it known that by the spread of English education Government is simply desirous of opening to the people of India a path to all arts and Sciences, and not to mislead them from their religion and time-honored customs and habits. It must however be well borne in mind that works relating to all arts and Sciences at present exist only in the English language, and new discoveries and inventions are every day being brought to light. Moreover, English being the language of the rulers of the country it is one of the duties of the subjects to learn it along with Urdoo or Bengali, so that they may rise in honor and live in greater ease and comfort. The native tongue of the country has been adopted as the language of the Court with a view that the common people may be able to understand their proceedings.

His Honor the Lieutenant Governor having seen and heard much about the state of the country and the condition of the people is determined to do his best in their behalf, and to raise all

classes of Her majesty's subjects in honor and respectability by means of their education, and H. H. therefore notifies the above to H. Majesty's loyal subjects that they may rest well assured of the good intentions of the Government towards them, and take heart and work contentedly praying to God sincerely for the prosperity of their benign Government.

APPENDIX NO. III.

THE OLD PINDAREE.

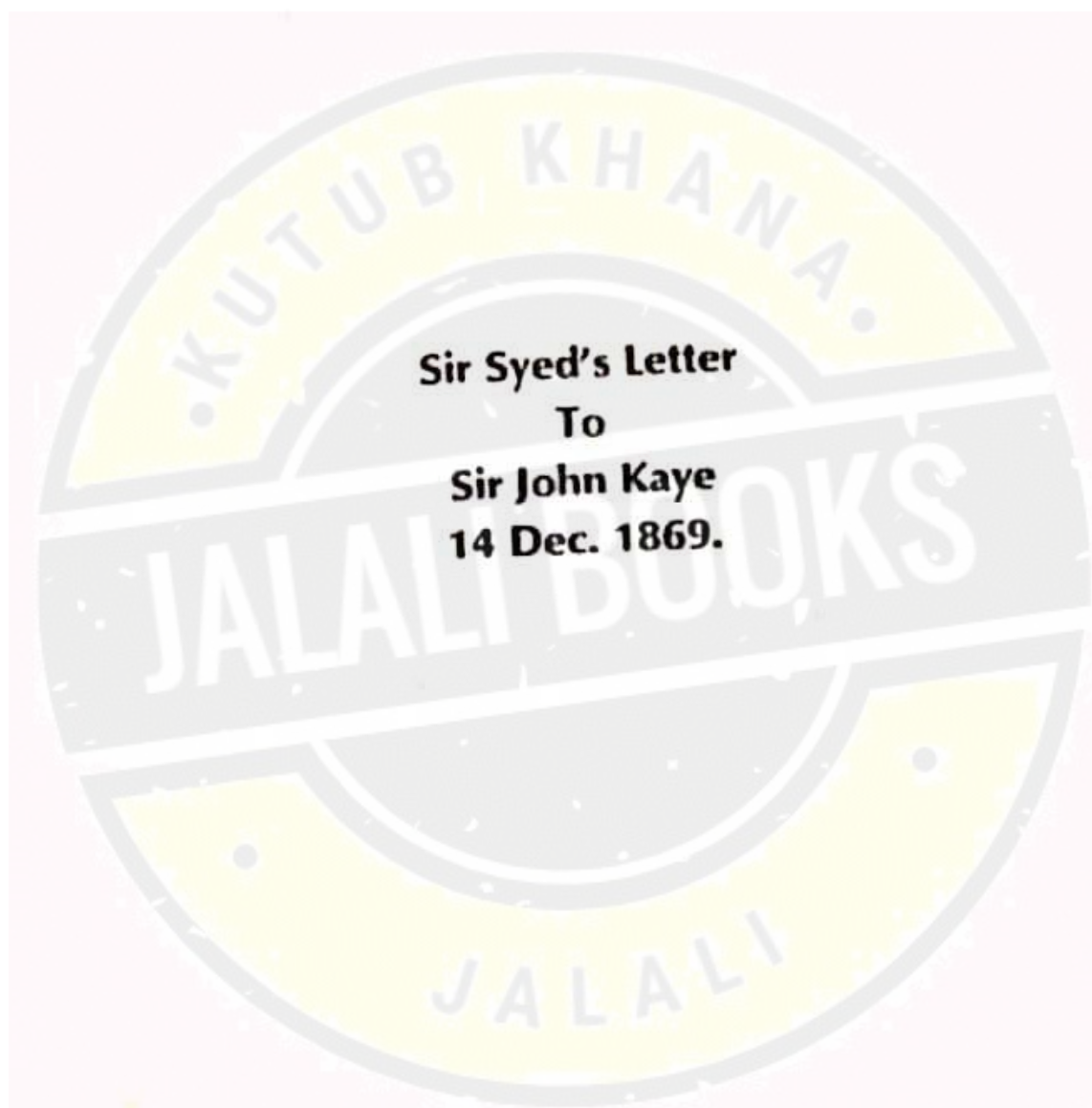
Allah is great, my children, and kind to a slave like me,
The big Saheb's tent has gone from under the Peepul tree,
With his horde of hungry chuprasees, and oily sons of the quill—
I paid them the bribe they wanted, and Satan will settle my bill.
It's not that I care for money, or expect a dog to be clean,
If I were lord of the Ryots, they'd starve ere I grew lean—
But I'd sooner be robbed by a tall man, who shew'd me a yard of steel
Than be fleeced by a smoking Baboo, with a peon and badge at his heel.

There goes my lord the Firingee, who talks so civil and bland,
But raves like a soul in Jehannum, if I don't quite understand—
He begins by calling me Sahib, and ends by calling me fool,
He has taken my old sword from me, and tells me to set up a school,
Set up a school in the village, "and my wishes are," says he,
"That you'll make the boys learn regular, or you'll get a lesson from me."
Well—Ram Lall the Telee mocks me, and pounded my cow last rains—
He's got three greasy young urchins, and I'll see that they take pains
There comes a settlement Hakim to teach me to plough and weed.
(I sowed the cotton he gave me, but first I boiled the seed)
He likes us humble farmers, and speaks so gracious and wise,

As he asks of our manners and customs, I tell him a parcel of lies.
"Look," says the school Firingee, "what a silly old man you be,
You can't read, write, nor cipher, and your grandsons do all three.
They'll check the Mahajan's figures, and reckon the tenant's corn.
And read good books about London, and the world afore you were born."

Well—I may be old and foolish, for I've seventy years well told,
And the Sahibs have governed me forty, so my heart and hands got cold,
Good boys they are my grandsons, I know, but they'll never be men,
Such as I was at twenty-five, wher the sword was King of the pen,
Ah—I rode a Deccanee charger, with the saddle cloth gold laced,
And a Persian sword, and a twelve foot spear, and a pistol at my waist.—
My son he keeps a tattoo, and I grieve to see him astride,
Jogging away to cutchery, and swaying from side to side.
My father was an Affghan, and came from Candahar,
He rode with Nawab Amir Khan in the old Mahratta war.
From the Deccan to the Himalayas, five hundred of one clan,
They asked no leave from king or chief, as they swept o'er Hindostan.
My mother was a Brahminee, but held to my father well,
She was saved from the sack of Jaleysir, when a thousand Hindoo fell—
Her kindred died in the sally, so she followed where he went.
And lived like a bold Patthanee in the shade of a rider's tent.
It's many a year gone bye now, but yet I often dream
Of a long dark march to the Jumna, and splashing across the stream.
The waving moon on the water, and the spears in the dim starlight,
As I rode in front of my mother, and wondered at the sight.
But the British chased Ameer Khan, and the roving times must cease,

My father got this village, and he sowed his crops in peace—
But I was young and hot of blood, it was no life for me,
So I took to the hills of Malwa, and became a Pindaree.
Praise to the name Almighty, there is no God but one,
Mahomed is his prophet, and his will shall ever be done—
Ye shall take no use for money, nor your faith for lucre sell,
Ye shall make no terms with the infidel, but smite his soul to Hell.
Tell me, ye men of Islam, who are living in slavish ease,
Who wrangle before the Firingee, for a poor man's lost rupees—
Are ye better than were your fathers, who plundered with old
Chetoo,
And squeezed the greedy traders as the traders now squeeze you?
Down there a Mahajan lives, my father gave him a bill,
I have paid the man thrice over, and here I am paying him still,
He shows me a long stamp paper, and must have my land, must he?
If I were twenty year younger, he sh'd get six feet by three,
And if I were forty year younger, and my life before me to choose
I would'nt be lectured by kafirs, or bullied by fat Hindoos,
But I'd go to some far off country, where Mussalmen still are men,
Or take to the forest like Chetoo, and die in a tiger's den.

Sir Syed's Letter
To
Sir John Kaye
14 Dec. 1869.

21 Mecklenburgh Sq.
W.C.
14th Dec. 1869

My Dear Sir,

"...In yours now under reply you honour me by asking my opinion "as to the extent to which the mutiny of 1857 grew into a popular rebellion in the N.W. Provinces" and express your opinion that it was not a mere "Military Mutiny". As far as my personal knowledge extends respecting the sepoy revolt in 1857, and from all that I have learnt from investigation I find that even the use of the expression "Military Mutiny" conveys an idea of something more than the real fact. It cannot be denied that the use of the greased cartridges did violence to the superstition of the sepoys who consequently determined not to bite the same. Almost all the sepoys had unanimously resolved never to bite the cartridge, which determination was the only charge that could be brought against them, till a very severe punishment was inflicted upon them at Meerut, a punishment which produced a strong impression on the minds of these men that they must either bite the greased cartridges or suffer the punishment of their disobedience. And it was then and not before that the discontent of the sepoys grew into a Military Mutiny. I am strongly of opinion that, if before the infliction of punishment the alternative either of biting the cartridges or resigning the service had been offered to them, the sepoys would undoubtedly have peaceably withdrawn themselves from the Company's service.

If the real facts connected with the revolt in the NWP be calmly enquired into, I do not think that the events which happened there can properly be designated as "Popular rebellion".

Undoubtedly the people of the NWP were dissatisfied with the Company's rule and this in a great measure was owing to the following causes: - the decay of

the respectable families, without the void they left being filled up by others-the non-existence of any means by which the the native community could procure honourable situations, and more especially-the forfeiture of the *Muafee* (right of holding lands without paying any rent to Govt.) which act of the authorities was considered a great injustice by the natives; and lastly to some other causes of less importance. It may also be safely asserted that the Govt's exercise of the "right of Predominant Power" a power subject to no regulations and unlimited, and the interference in a way till then unknown, in the cases of adoption and lapse, had created a distrust in the minds of the native chiefs who perhaps did no longer think themselves secure. It does however by no means appear that even this stimulated them to revolt or to take any part in the rebellion, for no native chiefs whatever who were in possession of their principalities, not withstanding the distrust with which they looked upon the Company's rule committed themselves by any act of rebellion against the government. Quitting the subject of the Military Mutiny I shall now briefly describe the character of the rebellion in NW Provinces. The rebellion in the NWP was assumed these forms:

1st Robbers and dacoits who were kept down by the power and strength of the Govt, now assembling in numbers not only attacked wayfarers but also plundered villages and even towns.

2nd Some of the minor chiefs whose families had fallen into decay endeavoured the resuscitation of their ancestral power. This sort of mutiny occurred in few places only: Cawnpore, Bareilly, Bijnour and Furruk habad. Some of these parties tried to have themselves restored while others were compelled by the mutineers to make an effort.

3rd Some of the lower classes, variously employed entered the service of such rebellious chiefs.

The first kind of rebellion cannot strictly be deemed against the Govt. The third sort of rebellion also although undoubtedly a crime cannot be called a regular rebellion. if we take into consideration the then state of India where

serving a rebellious chief was not considered equivalent to an act of rebellion.

This notion had taken deep root in the native mind in times previous to the Company's rule when chiefs fought with each other and when engaging in the military service of either party was not considered as a crime. The second sort of revolt was indeed of a serious nature, but this bad feeling was exclusively confined to the above mentioned rebellious chiefs and was never general. As far as I know the population of no part of the NWP tried or even thought of rendering any assistance to the native rebellious chiefs, much less than of subventing the British rule. A great proof of the justice of this assertion lies in the fact that as soon as the mutinious troops and the rebellions chiefs were expelled from a District peace was immediately restored.

I therefore think that the mutiny of 1857 was not a popular rebellion. To a European mind unacquainted with the state of India, the very name of rebellion at once carries with it an idea that the people of the country must have taken part, in it, and the real facts are thus ignored.

With feelings of sincere regard, and hoping the above will suffice to give you some idea of my humble opinion.

I remain, Dear Sir
Very truly yours
Syed Ahmed'